A

POEM

ON THE

Immortality *of the* SOUL.

BY

Sir *John DAVIS.*

To which is PREFIXED

An ESSAY upon the ſame SUBJECT,
By Dr. *THOMAS SHERIDAN.*

Together with

HISTORICAL RELATIONS concerning
IRELAND. By Sir *John Davis.*

Who knoweth the Spirit of Man that goeth upward, and the Spirit of the Beaſt, that goeth downward to the Earth, Eccleſiaſtes iii. 21.

Quum pateat igitur æternum id eſſe, quod a ſeipſo moveatur: Quis eſt qui hanc naturam animis eſſe tributam neget? Cic. Som. Scipion.

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BRITISH MUSEUM
30
JUL

TO THE

Right Honourable

JOHN

EARL of ORRERY.

My LORD,

I Should run the Risque of being thought ungrateful, if I omitted this Opportunity of making my Acknowledgments for the many Obligations I lie under to your Lordship, both on my Son's Account, and my own. All the Return I can make, is to fix your Name before a

DEDICATION.

Poem on the Immortality of the Soul, written by that great and good Man, Sir *John Davis*, who was nearly allyed to ſome of your noble Anceſtors, and when living, was a Perſon of the like Sentiments, Genius and Virtues with your Lordſhip. For which Reaſon, if the Bleſſed Above have any Knowledge and Concern for what is doing here, he muſt be pleaſed to have your Name ſo nearly joined to his.

My Lord, if I be not particular in expreſſing the many Inſtances of your Generoſity, and Goodneſs, which you ſhewed in the ſhort Time you were in this poor Kingdom, I hope the World will forgive me, that I rather chuſe to be condemn'd for ſuch a Neglect, than ſhew the leaſt Appearance of Flattery; for it is obſerved, that thoſe who moſt deſerve Praiſe, are moſt uneaſy to hear it.

I ventured to join ſome Arguments of my own in an Eſſay before the Poems, in which is a Collection of many Opinions taken from the Ancients, concerning the Nature of the Soul, which I intended to ſubmit

ſubmit to your Lordſhip's Peruſal, but I had the Misfortune at my Return from the Country, to be diſappointed of that Happineſs. I am confident your Aſſiſtance would have been of great Advantage to me in the Correction of it.

It is no ſmall Part of your Lordſhip's diſtinguiſhed Character, that you are ſo unfaſhionable, as to be fond of grave and important Learning, and rather inclined to think of a better World, than this; otherwiſe I ſhould be very weak in recommending an Orthodox religious Book to your Patronage, as Mankind is diſpoſed at preſent: If I had a mind to make my Fortune, and herd with the preſent wiſe Generation, I could eaſily find out Men in very high Stations, who would be well pleaſed to Patronize any thing built upon the laudable Performances of *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation*, *the Fable of the Bees* (incomparable for Style and Argument) *Tindal*, *Toland*, and others of that Tribe. But, my Lord, I rather chuſe to follow you, where I ſhall be ſure of

Preferment for ever. Nothing now remains, but my good Wiſhes for your Lordſhip, that while you are in this World, all good Men may have the ſame Eſteem and Affection for you, which you have for them: As for the next, it would be ſuperfluous in me to wiſh any thing with regard to you, ſince it is a ſtated religious Maxim, *That Vertue cannot fail of its Reward.*—— I remain, my Lord, with all Reſpect and Gratitude,

Your LORDSHIP's

Moſt Dutiful,

Moſt Obedient, and

Very Humble Servant,

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

AN

AN

ESSAY

UPON THE

Immortality of the *Soul.*

AMONG all the Secrets of Nature, which have engaged the unsatisfied Curiosity of *Philosophers*, both ancient, and modern, there is not one of so much Importance, and so worthy of our Enquiry, as the Soul, which we carry within us; a Being whereof we are so perpetually conscious, and which is so incessantly busy, that all our Actions, and Passions are subject to it's Examination. It is a kind of

an abſolute Monarch in a little World of its own, and although it hath an uncontroulable Dominion over it all, yet perpetually almoſt is uneaſy, and diſſatisfied; looking on the Body, which it moves, and carries about at Will, to be no other than a walking Priſon; and yet after all, what is much to be wondered at, ſo fond is it of the Confinement, that with the utmoſt Pain and Reluctance, it is removed from thence. To this we owe that natural Horror at the Approaches of Death.

No two Friends are ſo cloſely united as the Soul and Body, or ought to be ſo nearly concerned, each for the other's Welfare, becauſe their Sufferings, and Pleaſures, are not only mutual, but affect both at the ſame time. Thus the Soul cannot be afflicted either with real, or imaginary Grief, but the Body ſuffereth along with it; nor can the Body be attacked by any Pains, even the moſt minute, whereat the Soul is not immediately alarmed. Again, the Soul has no intellectual Enjoyment, either from Divine Contemplation, from its own Enquiries into the Nature of Things obſcure, (whereby it acquires Knowledge) or its Recovery from Error into Truth (which is attended with Delight) or ſatisfactory Information from the Labours of ingenious Men; or he Advantage of good Converſation; but the ody, by ſuch Happineſs of Mind, is improved n Health, and the Conſequences of it. And

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on the other Hand, when the Body enjoyeth a ſound Health, and is well ſupplied by the Conveniencies which it requireth, the Operations of the Soul are more ſprightly, and elevated; yet after all this Union, and cloſe Relation to each other, Light and Darkneſs are not more oppoſite, nor any two Elements more unlike in their Properties. To clear up which Aſſertion, let us conſider each apart. The Operations of the Soul are Perceiving, Imagining, Judging, Reaſoning, Willing, Nilling, Loving, Hating, and ſome others; and is it ſelf Immortal. The Body (except by the Motions received from the Soul) is Unactive, compounded of Elements, which again conſiſt of Atoms, extended, figured, coloured, having a certain ſpecifick Gravity; and ſubject to Mortality. When we more cloſely examine into theſe ſeveral Properties, and Qualities of each apart, we ſhall find, that they are incommunicable one to another; for I cannot ſay, a long, or a ſhort Perception; a ſquare, or a round Judgment; a Thought of ſuch a ſpecifick Weight; nor again can I apply any of the Properties in our Mind to the Body; for I cannot ſay this, or that Atom of my Body, or ten thouſand of them together, by their Extenſion, Figure, Colour, and Weight, make up one ſingle Thought among them all. From whence I may juſtly conclude, that the thinking Part of me, which governs this out-

ward material Being, is of a Nature, not only ſuperior, but eſſentially different, although of what Subſtance, beyond the Reach of Human Underſtanding to conceive: For, calling it a Spirit, or ſaying it is immaterial, are only Terms, which we are under a Neceſſity of uſing, to expreſs the moſt obſcure of all Ideas. But that we have ſuch an active Principle within, and altogether inviſible from our viſible Selves, is full as certain, as that we exiſt. How many, and various have been the Opinions of buſy, or rather idle Philoſophers about it! And, when they have purſued it with all the Intenſeneſs of Reaſon, how uncertain have been their Concluſions! As a Proof of this, take the following Opinions.

Democritus, *Epicurus*, and the *Stoicks* aſſerted, that the *Soul* was material, but differing from the *Body* as to its Eſſence. *Hippias* maintained, that the Blood was the Soul. *Hippon* the Philoſopher ſuppoſed it to be Water. *Democritus*, Fire. *Heraclitus* held, there was one univerſal Soul of moiſt Vapor. Among thoſe again, who made it incorporeal, various were the Accounts; ſome calling it an immortal Subſtance; others allowing it to be incorporeal, but yet not a Subſtance, nor immortal. *Thales* defined it, an immoveable Principle, only moveable by its own Power. *Pythagoras*, ſelf-moving Number. *Plato*, an intellectual Eſſence, ſelf-moving, according to Harmonick

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Proportion. *Ariſtotle*, the firſt *Entelecheia*, having Life through the Means of an organized Body. *Cicero* explains this more at large in his *Tuſculan* Queſtions. *Ariſtotle*, ſays he, *who made all Things conſiſt of the four Elements, allowed a Fifth, of which the Soul of Man was compoſed; for to think, to foreſee, to learn, to teach, to invent, to remember, to love, to hate, to deſire, to fear, to be grieved, to rejoyce, were not Properties of the aforeſaid Elements, and therefore he gave this fifth Principle in us, the Name of an* Entelecheia, *meaning thereby Perpetual Motion. Dinarchus* defined it, an Harmonious mixing of the four Elements. Others, as *Plato*, upon a particular Occaſion, and the *Manicheans*, aſſerted, That there was one Univerſal Soul, which went through all, whereby Each Individual had a Share of it; and when by an Accident any one of them was deſtroyed, it returned again to its firſt Principle. This likewiſe was the Opinion of *Pythagoras* and his Followers, of the *Indian Brachmans*, and ſeveral of the *Platoniſts*. *Theodorus*, and *Porphyrius* (as *Gregory Nyſſene* tells us) affirmed the Soul to be of every Species. *Jamblichus* conjectured the Form of the Soul, to be according to the Form of the Animal, and in his *Monobiblion* argues for a Tranſmigration; not from Men to Brutes, or Brutes to Men, but from Men to Men, and Brutes to Brutes. *Philo judæus* makes the Soul conſiſt of three Parts,

Parts, the νοῦς, or λόγος, the Mind, or Reaſon, Θυμὸς, Anger; and ἐπιθυμία, Concupiſcence. I could produce ſeveral others of this kind, but theſe are ſufficient to ſhew, how poor, and weak the Endeavours of the Wiſe and Learned are, when they attempt to diſcover thoſe Things in Nature, which God hath not given them Capacities for apprehending, only within certain Limits, ſet by him to the Underſtandings of Men (as he hath given Bounds to the vaſt Ocean) hitherto ſhall your proud Knowledge reach, and no farther.

If we enquire into ſome Opinions among the Primitive Fathers of the Church, we ſhall find them no leſs inconſiſtent, and extravagant in their Notions concerning the Nature, and Being of the Soul. *Juſtin Martyr* in his Dialogue with *Tryphon* blames *Plato* for aſſerting the Soul's Natural Immortality, and *Tatian* his Diſciple and Follower, in *Orat. ad Græc.* is of the ſame Opinion, *That the Soul is not Immortal of it ſelf, but Mortal.* St. *Irenæus* after him, will grant nothing incorruptible but God; and his Argument runs thus, *Whatſoever was created muſt be corruptible, and therefore our Souls have no longer Duration, than during the Pleaſure of God. Theophilus Antiochenus* will not allow Man either to be mortal, or immortal by Nature, but that he is formed with a Capacity for either State, according to his Behaviour in this World. *Tertullian* held the Soul

Soul to be *ex traduce*, and therefore mortal by Nature, which inclined him to *Tatian*'s Opinion. This makes *Pelagius* object, *Si anima ex traduce non eſt, ſed Sola caro tantum habet traducem peccati, Sola ergo pœnam meretur.* If the Soul be not *ex traduce*, but the Fleſh alone hath Original Sin, the Fleſh alone deſerveth Puniſhment. This on the one hand raiſed a Difficulty, How a pure created Spirit could have received a Contagion from *Adam*, without being *ex traduce* from him, and on the other hand, if our Souls were *ex traduce* from our Fore-fathers, and not from God immediately, they could not be thought immortal, becauſe whatever is generated is corruptible. *Arnobius* and *Lactantius* are no leſs uncertain in their Conjectures, making the Soul to be of a middle Nature, between Mortality and Immortality.

It would be too tedious to run through the many Diſputes and Conjectures concerning the Soul; and therefore I ſhall proceed upon my firſt Deſign, which is, to make it appear ſome Subſtance, or Power inconceivable within us, and not material, being its own Object by Reflection, but in a manner ſo obſcure, that it only knows it hath Exiſtence, and Thought. And although we ſee in this World as *through a Glaſs*, yet we have enough to convince us, what exceeding great Capacity it hath. What a matter of Amazement it is to conſider its

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boundleſs Comprehenſions of Things, all independent of Matter! Its flying, as if out of the Body, beyond the Limits of the Univerſe, and there ſoaring through unfathomable Space, till it is ſwallowed up at laſt in Infinity. Its looking backward and forward into Time without End, 'till it finds out an Eternity, which it cannot comprehend, and yet certain that there is one. Its travelling in an Inſtant to a Point, which has taken the Body ſome Years to arrive at. That vaſt Store-room its Memory, circumſcribed within ſuch narrow Dimenſions, wherein not only all its own Commerce and Correſpondence in the World is laid up, but the principal Actions of all Countries and Ages, from the Beginning of Mankind to this Day. Its forming Schemes, and contriving Laws for the Peace, the Order, and the Good of Mankind. Its great Progreſs in mathematical Science, by which it hath taught it ſelf to compaſs both Heaven and Earth, to find out the aſtoniſhing Regulation of the Stars and Planets, their Diſtances, Periodick Revolutions, and amazing Magnitudes. Its deſcending from thence, and prying into ſo great a Number of all the minute Secrets of Nature, Beholding the infinite Wiſdom and Power of a Great Creator in every Thing. Upon theſe Conſiderations, who can doubt its Divine Original, and that it only was ſent to travel here for a while, and then return to its native Region?

gion? With all this Knowledge before-mentioned, we find in the Soul a Self-conſciouſneſs, inſeparable, and indiviſible, a Power of exerciſing and uſing thoſe Parts of the Body, which are neceſſary to carry on the great Buſineſs of Life, inſomuch that we muſt confeſs, the Body (except where its Paſſions are too rebellious and potent) to be intirely ſubſervient. And, as we know this true by Experience, if the Soul were material, how ſhould it uſurp an Arbitrary Government over the Body, which is alſo material? Why ſhould not the Body exert a reciprocal Power over it? As for Inſtance, the Soul can confine the Body from local Motion, from moving out of one Place into another, or move it as it pleaſes; but the Body cannot quiet the Soul from thinking, or ſet it on thinking at its Pleaſure, which *is* as inſeparable from the Soul as Extenſion is from the Body. We find a Power in it ſelf only of ſhifting the Scene by the Help of Imagination. We can at Will place our ſelves in a Fairy-caſtle, and command all the fantaſtick Pleaſures, that either Luxury or Ambition can crave, yet all the while it is the Soul within, that muſt create the delightful Deluſion, and give us theſe Glimpſes of Happineſs in a waking Dream? On the contrary, what a Scene of Miſery can the ſame Power create within us.

Having

Having ſaid ſo much in general, of the Powers and Faculties in the Soul, I ſhall particularly enquire, Whether Thought be a Property of Matter, either ſeparately, or aggregately, or whether it be produced by an artificial Organization.

For our preſent Purpoſe, let us examine any Species of a corporeal Being, Steel, Sulphur, Stone or Wood. To conſider the Particles of any ſuch Materials ſeparately, we muſt ſuppoſe them reduced to their ſmalleſt Atomes. If each of theſe have a Power of thinking, they muſt likewiſe have a Self-conſciouſneſs of that Power, diſtinct from each other, as ſo many individual Men find in themſelves; ſo that every Atome according to its different Situation, might be employed at the ſame time, in a different way of thinking, which in one aggregate Body would produce an infinite Confuſion; or if they ſhould all at once combine, to have the very ſame Idea of the ſame Object, there would be a multitude of the ſame Ideas, not unlike a Piece of Money through a multiplying Glaſs; for every Atome would have its own particular Idea. Therefore we find this Hypotheſis anſwers not to our way of thinking, in Atomes, taken either ſeparately, or aggregately.

In the next Place, if we enquire into the Organization of a Human Body, we ſhall find our ſelves as much at a Loſs, how a different Situa-

Situation, Arrangement and Motion of thoſe Particles, which compoſe the Whole, can make Atomes ſo united capable of Thought, ſince it neither depends upon their being in this Place, or that Order, or Motion, ſwift, ſlow, or indifferent. I will grant that Organization is inſtrumental towards Thought, after a manner unaccountable to us, and which God Almighty, notwithſtanding all our cloſeſt Enquiry, hath made a Secret to us, while we continue in this Life. But no Man of common Reaſon will ſay, that theſe Organs, or Inſtruments, which are uſeful to the Soul in its Perception of Things, are the Perceivers or Thinkers themſelves, any more than the Pen, with which I now write, may conceive what I am writing, and be conſcious of it. To make this clearer, let us enquire into the Syſtem of Human Senſation, as it is diſtinguiſhed by five particular, and ſeparate Organs, contrived by the Almighty Artiſt, as ſo many Inſtruments for the Soul to work with; and let us carefully enquire, whether theſe Inſtruments think either ſeparately, or conjointly. That they do not is plain, becauſe thoſe Notices, which we receive from them, are conveyed by their Mediation, to that Part of the Brain, where the Soul is chiefly ſuppoſed to have its Reſidence, and where Thought is produced. As for Inſtance, Light, Colour, Figure, and Diſtance are carried thro' the Eye to the Retina,

and

and there external Objects are repreſented, and from thence conveyed through the Optick Nerves to the Brain, where the Soul paſſes Judgment upon them. And, although there be a vaſt Variety of Objects in Miniature, yet by a natural, untaught Principle, equal to the niceſt mathematical Judgment, it obſerves, and takes every Object, which cometh in by this Paſſage, without the leaſt Confuſion, in proper Colour, Situation and Dimenſion, as if they were drawn in a Landſcape. The Ear is the Inſtrument, through which the Soul is affected with Sounds, loud or ſoft, quick or ſlow, delightful or diſagreeable, while the Organ it ſelf is purely paſſive, and utterly incapable of Idea. It is no more than a Griſtle in Form of a Shell, with a Drum at the Bottom, which receives the Pulſations of the Air, ſet in Motion by the Colliſion of hard Bodies, and thence communicates to the Soul a Senſation, agreeable, or offenſive. And as the Soul is naturally inclined to Beauty of every kind, it is much delighted with Harmony, and extreamly offended at Diſcord, This makes the *Screech-Owl* ſtrike us with Horror, while the *Nightingale* commands our Attention.

And ſurely to conſider Muſick, as it gives Delight to the Soul, it by far ſurpaſſes all other ſenſitive Gratifications, nor ſhall I chuſe any other Encomium upon it, than the following Lines from *Shakeſpear*.

How

How ſweet the Moon-light ſleeps upon the Bank;
Here will we ſit, and let the Sounds of Muſick
Creep in our Ears; ſoft Stillneſs, and the Night
Become the Touches of ſweet Harmony.
Sit Jeſſica; *look how the Floor of Heav'n*
Is thick inlay'd with Patterns of bright Gold;
There's not the ſmalleſt Orb, which thou behold'ſt,
But in his Motion like an Angel ſings,
Still Quiring to the young-ey'd Cherubims;
Such Harmony is in Immortal Souls;
But whilſt this muddy Veſture of Decay
Doth groſsly cloſe us in, we cannot hear it.
Come, ho, and wake Diana *with a Hymn,*
With ſweeteſt Touches pierce your Miſtreſs' Ear,
And draw her Home with Muſick.
Jeſſ. *I'm never merry when I hear ſweet Muſick.*
Lor. *The Reaſon is, your Spirits are attentive;*
For do but note a wild and wanton Herd,
Or Race of youthful and unhandled Colts,
Fetching mad Bounds, bellowing, and neighing loud,
(Which is the hot Condition of their Blood)
If they perchance but hear a Trumpet ſound,
Or any Air of Muſick touch their Ears,
You ſhall perceive them make a mutual Stand;
Their Savage-eyes turn'd to a modeſt Gaze,
By the ſweet Pow'r of Muſick. Thus the Poet
Did feign that ORPHEUS *drew Trees, Stones, and Floods;*
Since nought ſo Stockiſh, Hard, and full of Rage,
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The Man that hath no Muſick in himſelf,
And is not mov'd with Concord of ſweet Sounds,
Is fit for Treaſons, Stratagems, and Spoils;
The Motions of his Spirit are dull as Night,
And his Affections dark as Erebus:
Let no ſuch Man be truſted——Mark the Muſick.

In like manner by the Taſte, the Smell, and the Touch, the Soul hath a Variety of Intelligence from without, either to its Pleaſure or Pain, according to the Qualities of the Objects wherewith it is affected. Now I look upon theſe five Senſes to be in the Nature of five Intelligencers, by whoſe Means the Soul receives its foreign Accounts of Things, and preſerves them in a Regiſtry of its own, where it compares and ſorts them into their ſeveral Claſſes, inſomuch that the Memory may not improperly be called its Common-place-book, where all Things are ranged under proper Heads; their ſeveral and mutual Relations to one another conſidered; from whence proceed abſtracted Notions, Judgments formed by them, and at laſt, a Chain of Rational Collection. As that which receives Intelligence, muſt differ from the Intelligencer, in like manner muſt the Soul differ from the Senſes, by the following Reaſons. How comes it to paſs, that we know the Number of our Senſes to be five, when not one of them, can by any means be

be made the Object of the other? As for Inſtance, I cannot ſee Sound, nor Taſte, nor Feeling, nor Scents; nor can I hear Colours, or Figures, or Magnitude, or Taſte, and ſo forth. In the ſame manner try all the Senſes round, and not one of them is capable of having the leaſt Idea of what is conveyed in at the other. Five different Perſons placed at the remoteſt Corners of the Earth, without any Correſpondence, cannot be greater Strangers to one another's Thoughts, than the Senſes are to the Objects of each other. Since it is apparently ſo, can any thing be more reaſonable, than to conclude that there muſt be ſome Principle ſuperior to them all, which informs us of their Number; And this Principle is the Soul; And that Soul purely diſtinct from Body, nevertheleſs muſt be conceived a Subſtance, but of what kind, is utterly inconceivable to us, and ſo muſt continue 'till that Duſt ſhall be wiped away, which at preſent blinds the Eye of Reaſon.

Among all the Arguments I can bring for the Soul's being diſtinct from the Body, and intended for another State, I cannot conceive one ſtronger than that of Conſcience, by which I mean an inward Approbation, or Diſlike of our Actions, according to their moral Goodneſs or Turpitude; which indeed ought to be a prevailing Reaſon with us, to believe, that God hath, for very wiſe Ends, ſet up this Light within us, as a Reſtraint upon thoſe

Paſſions,

Paſſions, which might otherwiſe hurry us, not only to our own Deſtruction, but the Ruin of others. And ſo great is the Power of this Principle, that it is at once a Witneſs, a Judge, and an Executioner; for as the *Poet* ſays,

Exemplo quodcunque malo committitur, ipſi
Diſplicet auctori. Prima eſt hæc ultio, quod ſe
judice, nemo nocens abſolvitur.———

He that commits a Sin ſhall quickly find
The preſſing Guilt lie heavy on his Mind,
None quits himſelf; his own impartial Thought
Will damn, and Conſcience will record the Fault.

What gives the Murtherer in the Wilderneſs (where no Eye but that of Heaven is upon him) a down-caſt Look, but the Reflection upon his unnatural Barbarity, and the Terrors of a future Judgment? What makes the Sinner turn pale, or bluſh, when he is charged upon Suſpicion, for thoſe Crimes he committed under the Shadow of Darkneſs, where no Witneſs was by, but that within himſelf? Why is the obdurate Villain, who defrauds the Widow and the Fatherleſs, inwardly tormented, and goaded with perpetual Remorſe, but that he is convinced he muſt be puniſhed in another World for thoſe Crimes, which have here eſcaped the Laws of Man? On the other Hand, how bleſt and calm is that Perſon within himſelf, who is conſcious, that he hath done all

ll the Good in his Power to Mankind, from true Spirit of Benevolence? That he hath ıſed his beſt Endeavours to ſupply the ſeemng Defects of God's Providence! That he ath fed the Hungry, cloathed the Naked, atended the Sick-bed, releaſed the Priſoner, aſerted the Cauſe of the injured, ſhewn imparial Acts of Humanity to the Stranger; and who by his Labours, Advice and Example, ath civilized thouſands, who hath likewiſe eft Monuments of Charity behind him, to upport the Poor and Neceſſitous for Ages to ome, when nothing remains here but his univalled Memory. Theſe are ſuch Acts, as God and Angels muſt behold with Pleaſure, nd a juſt God will reward; as they muſt iew their contrary with Abhorrence, becauſe uch Acts are entirely oppoſite to their own Naures, and which an offended Deity will puniſh. or can it conſiſt with the Goodneſs of God, o let the ſincerely pious and virtuous Man, nd one altogether corrupt and vicious, end aike, and undiſtinguiſhed in the Duſt? When he former hath done ſuch Actions, as no Reward n this World can be an Equivalent for; and he other committed ſuch Crimes, as no Torures here, could ſufficiently puniſh.

There is among us at preſent, a Species f ſuperficial Reaſoners, who level themſelves *with the Beaſts that periſh*, and who aſhly advance, that Brutes have Souls immortal

mortal as well as Men. That they have Souls I make no Queſtion, from their ſpontaneous Motions, and other Qualities in ſome of them, which carry a ſimilitude of Reaſon; but to think them immortal, or to ſuppoſe theſe Brutes accountable for their Actions, would be the groſſeſt Indication of Stupidity to aſſert: For it is plain by their, conſtant and uniform way of acting, and all their Concern being chiefly and narrowly confined to three Ends; *their Food, the Propagation of their Kind, and their own Preſervation*; that God hath intended moſt of them for our Uſe, and ſome perhaps for our Dsverſion. One Animal hath Strength to labour for us, another both Strength and Speed to carry us with Safety and Expedition, to that Diſtance, which would much impair our Conſtitutions to arrive at in the ſame Time: Another carries Wool to cloath us; a third giveth Milk to nouriſh us. What a great Number and Variety, do the three Elements of Water, Earth, and Air produce for our Tables! In the next Place, if we conſider thoſe ordained for our Diverſion and Safety; what a great Variety is there in that one Species of Dogs! as, the Wolf-Dog, the Buck-Hound, the Fox-Dog, the Beagle, the Grey-Hound, the Setter, the Pointer, the Lurcher, the Terrier, the Bull-Dog, Water-Dog, Maſtiff, and many others, which are apparently created as I have hinted already, ſome for our

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Diverſion, and others for our Security. Will any one then upon a ſerious Conſideration of all this, be ſo weak as to think, that Animals ſo viſibly deſigned for theſe leſs important Ends, ſhould be ſet upon a Level with us in the State of Immortality? Or imagine, that Annihilation, of which they can have no Notion, is a Wrong done to them, when it is very reaſonably anſwering the End of their Creation, but not anſwering the End of ours.

That ſeveral other Animals have Sagacity, Caution, and Paſſions in common with us, I allow; but to ſay they draw Conſequences by rational Collection, I deny; there being no Occaſion for it, as appears by their ever acting in the ſame uniform Manner. It hath been, and is ſtill a Tenet among Philoſophers, that Brute Animals do every thing by Inſtinct, a Term only uſed to expreſs themſelves about they know not what. But if we muſt uſe the Word, let the Idea fixed to it be a Law of God in their Natures, which by an invincible Neceſſity diſpoſes them to act for their own Preſervation, and the Continuance of their kind. This will appear more evident by the following Inſtance. When a Bird builds its Neſt, it ſhews as much Art as the beſt Architect, and conſequently the Effect of as much Forecaſt and Reaſoning, whereas the chief End for which it makes that Neſt, is altogether un-

known to it. When the Time of laying its Eggs approacheth, it contriveth a ſoft and ſafe Repoſitory, for Things whereof it hath no Idea, as having never ſeen them. It cannot of it ſelf know before-hand, that theſe Eggs are of a brittle and ſlender Conſiſtence, yet agreeable to the beſt Reaſon, it provides to ſecure them againſt Accidents. Nor can it know that out of theſe, its own Likeneſs is to come naked and callous, yet notwithſtanding, we find there is a ſoft and warm Bed provided to preſerve their Young, without which they would moſt infallibly periſh. If then all this be done, and evidently not by any Reaſoning in the Bird, we muſt conclude, that it proceeds from ſome ſuperior Reaſon directing to thoſe rational Ends; for it can be no otherwiſe accounted for, than that it is the ſame Law of God in their Natures. If then the Creator of Spirits, whoſe Reaſon manifeſtly appears ſo much concerned in Things ordained for our Uſe, takes all this Care of a Bird; have we not the greateſt Cauſe to think that his Providence muſt be infinitely more concerned to bring us to our Perfection, which we have not in this World.

If we look into every Thing in this amazing Fabrick, prepared for us, we may eaſily learn that Nature (which is a Law of God) does nothing in vain, and we may alſo ſee every thing made by the wiſeſt Contrivance for certain Ends. As, the Sun to give Light and Warmth

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for the Convenience and Support, both of the Animal, and Vegetable Creation. The Tree to bear Fruit; to give Shade; to delight us with its Verdure; and ſerve for ſuch a multitude of Conveniences. Water filtered through the Earth 'till it appears in Springs and Rivers, for the Refreſhment of Man and Beaſt. Herbs innumerable, not only as Food to thoſe Animals we live upon, but likewiſe medicinal to both. In ſhort, let us range through all this grand Theatre in which we live, and we ſhall find, from the Star to the Pebble, from the Cedar to the Shrub, from the Elephant to the ſmalleſt Inſect, that they are all wiſely deſigned for certain Ends and Operations, which compleat their Nature. Shall Man then, for whom all theſe Things were made, not have his End anſwered? I mean, ſhall he not be tranſlated to a World of Happineſs, ſince Happineſs is his only Purſuit, and that he cannot have it here? If he be not, ſurely every thinking Perſon muſt confeſs, that he is in a worſe Condition than any other Creature, as being deprived at length, after a Life of Miſery, of an Expectation which is founded upon the beſt Reaſon.

If then the Soul be not immortal, nothing remains but to conclude an Injury done to Human Nature by the CREATOR, which is not to be ſuppoſed without Blaſphe-

my. There is nothing more evident, than that the Miſeries of this World are much more than the Happineſs of it, or we ſhould not deſire to change; if then there ſhould be no Life after this, God has infallibly made a Creature deſtined to ſuffer more Pain than Pleaſure, which would neither be conſiſtent with his Goodneſs, nor his Juſtice. And to prove that my Propoſition is true, I not only appeal to our own daily Obſervation, but to the Hiſtories of all Nations; from whence, if we ſet the good and the bad Fortune by way of Debtor and Creditor, we ſhall ſoon ſee the Follies and Misfortunes of Mankind have the Ballance, by many Degrees, on their Side.

In the next Place, Man by Nature, if no Revelation had been given, is the only Animal capable of Religion, who from the Beauty of the Creatures hath found out his CREATOR; and conſequently, hath ever paid him Homage and Adoration, from the beginning of Time to this Day. Would this again be conſiſtent with the Goodneſs and Juſtice of God, to let ſo many Millions of Mankind proceed, for ſo many Ages, in a Worſhip fruitleſs and deluſive; and diſappoint them at laſt of all their Hopes? No, ſurely there is a Day, wherein God will reward the Righteous, and puniſh the Ungodly.

But upon cloſer Enquiry, the moſt evident Argument for the Continuance of our Being hereafter, is that Principle within us, by which Nature

Nature (that is, a Law of God in our Souls) hath plainly pointed out another World to us. This never dies, for Self-preſervation, both here and hereafter, is ſo plainly imprinted in us, that we cannot ſeriouſly think of Annihilation, but with the utmoſt Horror. Let the Queſtion be put to the moſt confirmed Atheiſt (if ſuch a one can be) Whether he would not rather live eternally, provided it were in Happineſs, than be annihilated? Beyond Doubt, he would chuſe Immortality. What diſpoſeth him then to argue for the Contrary? Nothing, but the Forebodings of an evil Conſcience, and thoſe Racks and Tortures, which he dreads from an offended Deity, on Account of the Sins he hath committed.

It may perhaps become a Subject of Ridicule, with ſome of our lately refined Speculatiſts, *the Free-thinkers*, if I ſhould argue for the Soul's Independance of our Bodies while we are aſleep, and aſſure them that it is ſometimes engaged in a regular Chain of Thought, without the Miniſtry of one ſingle Senſe; that it hath made Excurſions from the Body, and been preſent at Facts tranſacted the diſtance of many Miles, as hath been very well atteſted by Perſons of undoubted Credit; that by Means of its Retirement from the waking Interruptions of Senſe, it hath ſeen into Futurity, and beheld what came to paſs ſome Years after; which I can prove by my own Experience,

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and have found it confirmed by the Confeſſion of others; that ſome Perſons have compoſed ſuch Lines of Poetry in a Dream, as their waking Imagination and Judgment could not equal; that effectual Medicines have been found out in Dreams; Warnings given to avoid imminent Dangers, by which Notices Perſons eſcaped them. What can all this be, but ſome ſeparate Faculty in the Soul, or an immediate Divine Communication with it, ſuch as *Adam* had in the firſt Revelation, which God made to him in a Dream, by which he was inſpired to know that his Wife was Bone of his Bone? Let us take what Opinion we pleaſe, we muſt in either Caſe conclude the Soul a Being entirely, and abſolutely different from the Body.

In the next Place, Whoever conſiders the unequal Diſtributions of Things here below, muſt be ſtrongly convinced, there is a State for Man after this. When he beholds that great and good Men are frequently expoſed to the ſevereſt Calamities in this World, while the Wicked have enjoyed the Wealth, the Power, and the Pleaſures thereof. Baniſhments, Racks and Tortures, have been frequently the Portion of the truly Religious, while their Perſecutors flouriſhed like a Bay-tree. Would ſuch a Toleration of unmerited Events, be conſiſtent with a good CREATOR, who has ordained all Things for the beſt Ends and Purpoſes? No ſurely, if *Socrates* and *Anytus*, *Nero* and

and the Martyrs, muſt never more appear beyond the Grave. If this ſhould be their End, we muſt confeſs, that God ordained *Socrates* to be falſly accuſed and poyſoned, for introducing true Notions of his Attributes; and that he gave up the Martyrs to all the Wrecks that Tyranny could invent, for adhering to his own Cauſe, which is impoſſible for All-Goodneſs to tolerate.

If a true Picture of Human Life were laid before the Soul, antecedent to its Entrance into this World, would Reaſon ever conſent to dwell in Human Fleſh; to be in the weak and deplorable Circumſtances of helpleſs Infancy; to lead a Life of Giddineſs for ſome Years after it, attended with the Grievances of Labour and Diſcipline; not allowed to take one Step without the Direction of Tutors, Parents, or Relations; under perpetual Confinement and Slavery: When farther advanced to the wild Years of Life, to be directed by Pride, and Paſſion; acting thoſe Things which are to make us miſerable, when ripened Age gives Leiſure to ſedate Reflection; always in Queſt of Happineſs, and always diſappointed: This is the End of every Man's Travel here, altho' they chuſe different Roads to come at it, they all aim at one Point. The King and the Peaſant, the Noble and the Commoner, the Learned and the Ignorant, equally meet with the ſame Rubs in their Journey, and lie down alike

like at the End of it; the Preſent, never ſatiſfying; the Future, always decoying; ſtill flitting from one Uneaſineſs to another, till Death puts an end to every Purſuit. They who purſue the moſt rational Delights, of acquiring Knowledge, find it Vanity and Vexation of Spirit; for God hath ſo ordered it, ſince the Fall of our Firſt Parent, that we muſt work it out by laborious Conſequences. We are always in Queſt of Truth, and cannot find it, becauſe there is a perpetual War between Reaſon and our Paſſions; ever floating between Ignorance and Knowledge; and when we think to ſeize the Object purſued, we graſp a Shadow, which takes its Flight for ever. And after all our Labour and Acquirements, What are Languages, Arts and Sciences, but a fantaſtick Circle, through which the Learned have been running for ſeveral Ages, beginning at Ignorance, and ending at laſt in the ſame Point? This the truly Knowing will confeſs, while Fools reſt contented in their vain Opinions. When the Soul makes an Excurſion from within, how ſtrangely is it bewildered, with regard to the Univerſe? How is Imagination loſt in the Reflection, conſidering the Nature of infinite Space, whoſe Centre is every where, and Circumference no where. Nay, every thing about it, from the higheſt to the loweſt Being, is to us an unſolvable Myſtery. How brittle and uncertain is the Dwelling to which it

it is confined? Although nothing can be finiſhed with more exquiſite Art (*for it is fearfully and wonderfully made*) no Thing in Nature is eaſier put out of order or deſtroyed, a Fly, or a Grape-ſtone is ſufficient, without any other Battery, to demoliſh it; ſo that Man is a perfect Contradiction, of Excellence, and Infirmity. What an Army of Enemies has he without him, not to mention his Betrayers within! Wars, Inundations, Diſtempers, Plagues and Earthquakes (to paſs by the thouſand leſſer Accidents daily hovering over his Head) by which Means he muſt ever be dejected by Fear, while he is weakly ſupported by Hope. If you could look into his Thoughts, what Hurry, Confuſion, and Madneſs, would you behold in the wiſeſt Philoſopher! There you might view Fancy, the great Miſtreſs of Error, ſtamping Truth and Falſhood with the ſame Impreſſion; and Reaſon not able to diſtinguiſh between what is true and counterfeit. How tormenting muſt it be to a Man of an honeſt Mind, and ſound Judgment, to ſee Opinion, the univerſal Empreſs of the World, and Reaſon lying under her Feet! Born down by Folly, only becauſe it is ſupported by the Multitude; to find himſelf among the reſt, buſy in reflecting on Times paſt, and laying Schemes for the Time to come; wiſhing That preſent, which muſt ſhorten a Life, that he is anxious to prolong.

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So that ſcarce any one lives for the Preſent, but is ever impertinently employed about the Paſt, or Future. And if, beſide theſe Diverſions of the Mind, ſome external Amuſements did not call him abroad, how extreamly wretched would he be by too much Reflection. What a Contradiction is this, that a Man, who loves nothing ſo much as himſelf, cannot bear his own ſilent Converſation! but muſt gad abroad, or he is miſerable, as not being able to bear the Examination of his own Thoughts, or give Audience to his own Reaſon. If it were not for this, would not Confinement to a Chamber, infinitely ſurpaſs the Noiſe and Hurry of the World. Thus we live in the midſt of Anxieties innumerable, with a few flying Pleaſures among Legions of real Woes; one Generation coming on the Stage, while the other is going off, to compleat a Fool's Paradiſe, if there ſhould be no Hereafter. To ſum up all; we ſee, that Childhood is vain and trifling; Youth tormented by it ſelf, and others; Manhood racked with Ambition, Avarice, numberleſs Paſſions of Body and Mind; expoſed to Calumny, Treachery, Diſappointments, Fears, beſide the natural Sufferings of Hunger, Thirſt, Heat and Cold; teized with Sollicitudes for Family; Grief for the Loſs of Children and of Friends, by Death or otherwiſe; and after coming to the Cataſtrophe of Life, behold a greater Load laid upon

upon him, at a Time when he is leaſt able to bear it, I mean all the Infirmities of old Age; ridiculed from his neareſt Friends to his Servants, for what he cannot help, the Imperfections of every Senſe, which oblige him to be an univerſal Dependant upon the Compaſſionate; and thus he totters off the Stage, as much forgotten, and unlamented in a few Days, as if he had never had a Being among us. Who would not upon this moſt humbly expoſtulate with God, and ſay, Thou Great and Incomprehenſible Creator of this World, haſt thou only given us Reaſon to find out that we are the moſt wretched of Beings? Haſt thou imprinted a ſtrong Impulſe upon our Souls, for a Happineſs which we can never enjoy here? And wilt thou diſappoint us of it hereafter? Shall we have ſo great a Thirſt for perfect Knowledge, and lie down at laſt in Ignorance? Is thy Juſtice no way concerned to ſee the Great and Good go off alike with the Baſe, and Profligate? Why had I ever ſuch a Notion of dwelling with Thee in endleſs Joys, if I be never to taſte them? This is the humble Appeal I make in the Name of all, who have made thee their only End, and upon thy own Promiſes, we will depend. To thee therefore be all Honour and Glory, for ever and ever *Amen.*

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JUL

Upon the Preſent

Corrupted STATE OF POETRY.

IN happy Ages paſt, when Juſtice reign'd,
The Muſes too their Dignity maintain'd;
Were only then in Shrines and Temples found,
With Innocence inſtead of Lawrel crown'd,
Anthems and Hallelujahs did reſound.
In theſe Seraphick Tasks their Hours they paſs'd,
Pious as *Sybils*, and as *Veſtals* chaſte.
They juſtly then were ſtil'd, *The Sacred Nine*,
Nor were the Heav'n-born Graces more divine.
Like them with Heaven they did Alliance claim,
And wiſeſt Kings their Votaries became;
Who, tho' by Art and Nature form'd to reign,
Their Homage paid amongſt the Muſes Train:
They thought Extent of Empire leſs Renown,
And priz'd their Poet's Wreath above their Prince's Crown.

Heav'n's Praiſe was then the only Theme of Verſe,
Which Kings of Earth were honour'd to rehearſe.
Their Songs did then fair *Salem*'s Temple fill,
And *Sion* was the Muſes ſacred Hill.

At length tranſplanted from the Holy Land,
To *Pagan* Regions paſs'd the ſacred Band;
In *Greece* they ſettled, but with leſſen'd Grace,
And chang'd their Manners as they chang'd their Place.
Here Poetry, beginning to decline,
Firſt mingled Human Praiſes with Divine.
Yet ſtill they ſung alone ſome Worthy's Name,
And only gave reſtoring Heroes Fame.
But grew at laſt a mercenary Trade,
The Gift of Heaven the Price of Gold was made.
Brib'd Poets with Encomiums did purſue
The worſt of Men, and prais'd their Vices too.
They gave deſtroying Tyrants moſt Applauſe,
Who ſhed moſt Blood, regardleſs of their Cauſe.
If merely to deſtroy can merit Fame,
Famines and Plagues the larger Trophies claim.

But this and worſe, with our licentious Times
Compar'd, in Poets were but Venial Crimes.
That Poetry, which did at firſt inſpire
Cœleſtial Rapture and Seraphick Fire;
Her Talent in Hell's Service now employs,
The Proſtitute and Bawd of ſenſual Joys.
On Miſchief's Side engages all her Charms,
Againſt Religion her offenſive Arms:

Whilſt

Whilſt Luſt, Extortion, Sacrilege paſs free,
She points her Satyr, Virtue, againſt Thee,
And turns on Heav'n its own Artillery.

But Wit's fair Stream, when from its genuine Courſe
Conſtrain'd, runs muddy, and with leſſen'd Force.
Our Poets, when Deſerters they became
To Virtue's Cauſe, declin'd as much in Fame.
That Curſe was on the lewd Apoſtates ſent,
Who, as they grew debauch'd, grew impotent.
Wit's ſhort-liv'd Offſprings in our later Times
Confeſs too plain their vicious Parents Crimes:
No *Spencer*'s Strength, or *Davies*, who ſuſtain'd
Wit's Empire when divine *Eliza* reign'd.

But ſure, when foreign Toils will Time allow
Our Age's *Hydra*-Vices to ſubdue,
Victorious *William*'s Piety will chaſe
From theſe infeſted Realms th' infernal Race;
And, when Alarms of War are heard no more,
With *Europe*'s Peace the Muſes State reſtore.

THE *AUTHOR's* DEDICAITON TO Queen *Elizabeth.*

TO that clear Majeſty, which in the *Nort*
Doth like another Sun in Glory riſe,
Which ſtandeth fix'd, yet ſpreads her He
venly Worth,
Loadſtone to Hearts, and Load-ſtar to all Eyes.

LIKE Heaven in All, like Earth in This alone,
That tho' great States by her Support do ſtand,

Yet ſhe her ſelf ſupported is of none,
But by the Finger of th' Almighty's Hand.

To the divineſt and the richeſt Mind,
Both by Art's Purchaſe, and by Nature's Dower,
That ever was from Heaven to Earth confin'd,
To ſhew the utmoſt of a Creature's Power.

To that great Spring, which doth great Kingdom's move,
The ſacred Spring whence *Right* and *Honour* ſtreams,
Diſtilling *Virtue*, ſhedding *Peace* and *Love*,
In ev'ry Place as *Cynthia* ſheds her Beams.

I Offer up ſome Sparkles of that Fire,
Whereby we *reaſon, live, and move, and be*;
Theſe Sparks by Nature evermore aſpire,
Which makes them now to ſuch a *Highneſs* flee.

Fair *Soul*, ſince to the faireſt Body join'd,
You give ſuch lively Life, ſuch quick'ning Power,
And Influence of ſuch Cœleſtial Kind,
As keeps it ſtill in Youth's immortal Flower,

As where the Sun is preſent all the Year,
And never doth retire his golden Ray,
Needs muſt the Spring be everlaſting there,
And every Seaſon like the Month of *May*.

O Many, many Years may you remain
A happy Angel to this happy Land;

Long, long may you on Earth our Empreſs reign,
E'er you in Heaven a glorious Angel ſtand.

STAY long (ſweet Spirit) e'er thou to Heav'n depar
Who mak'ſt each Place a Heaven wherein thou art.

Her MAJESTY's

Devoted Subject and Servant,

July 11, 1592.

JOHN DAVIES

THE

THE INTRODUCTION.

WHY did my Parents ſend me to the Schools,
That I with *Knowlege* might enrich my Mind,
Since the *Deſire to know* firſt made Men Fools,
And did corrupt the *Root* of all Mankind?

For when God's Hand had written in the Hearts
Of our Firſt Parents all the Rules of Good;
So that their Skill infus'd ſurpaſs'd all Arts
That ever were before, or ſince the Flood.

And when their Reaſon's Eye was ſharp and clear,
And (as an Eagle can behold the Sun)
Could have approach'd th' Eternal Light as near
As th' intellectual Angels could have done;

Ev'n then to them the *Spirit of Lies* ſuggeſts,
That they were blind, becauſe they ſaw not *Ill*;
And breath'd into their incorrupted Breaſts
A curious *Wiſh*, which did corrupt their *Will*.

From that ſame Ill, they ſtraight deſired to know;
Which Ill being nought but a Defect of Good,
In all God's Works the Devil could not ſhew
While Man, their Lord, in his Perfection ſtood.

So that themſelves were firſt to *do* the Ill,
E'er they thereof the Knowlege could attain;
Like him that knew not Poiſon's Power to kill,
Until (by taſting it) himſelf was ſlain.

Ev'n ſo, by taſting of that Fruit forbid,
Where they ſought *Knowlege*, they did *Error* find;
Ill they deſir'd to know, and Ill they did;
And to give *Paſſion* Eyes, made *Reaſon* blind.

For then their Minds did firſt in *Paſſion* ſee,
Thoſe wretch'd Shapes of *Miſery* and *Woe*,
Of *Nakedneſs*, of *Shame*, of *Poverty*,
Which then their own *Experience* made 'em know.

But then grew *Reaſon* dark, that *ſhe no more*
Could the fair Forms of *Good* and *Truth* diſcern;
Batts they became, who *Eagles* were before,
And this they got by their *Deſire to learn*.

But we, their wretched *Offspring*, what do we?
Do not we ſtill taſte of the Fruit forbid,
While with fond fruitleſs Curioſity,
In Books profane we ſeek for Knowlege hid?

What is this *Knowlege*, but the Sky ſtol'n Fire,
For which the *Thief* ſtill chain'd in Ice doth ſit;
And which the poor rude *Satyr* did admire,
And needs would kiſs, but burnt his Lips with it?

What is it, but the Cloud of empty Rain,
Which when *Jove's Gueſt* embrac'd, he Monſter's got?
Or the falſe *Pails*, which oft being fill'd with Pain,
Receiv'd the Water, but retain'd it not?

In fine, What is it, but the fiery Coach,
Which the *Youth* ſought, and ſought his Death withal?
Or the *Boy*'s Wings, which when he did approach
The *Sun*'s hot Beams, did melt and let him fall?

And yet, alas! when all our Lamps are burn'd,
Our Bodies waſted, and our Spirits ſpent;
When we have all the learned *Volumes* turn'd,
Which yield Men's Wits both Help and Ornament;

What can we know, or what can we diſcern,
When *Error* clouds the Windows of the Mind?
The divers Forms of Things how can we learn,
That have been ever from our Birth-day blind?

When *Reaſon*'s Lamp (which like the *Sun* in Sky)
Thro'out *Man*'s little World her Beams did ſpread,
Is now become a Sparkle, which doth lie
Under the Aſhes, half extinct and dead;

How can we hope that thro' the Eye and Ear,
This dying Sparkle, in this cloudy Place,
Can recollect thoſe Beams of Knowlege clear,
Which were infus'd in the firſt Minds by Grace?

So might the Heir, whoſe Father hath in Play
Waſted a thouſand Pounds of ancient Rent,
By painful earning of one Groat a Day,
Hope to reſtore the Patrimony ſpent.

The Wits that div'd moſt deep, and ſoar'd moſt high,
Seeking Man's Powers, have found his Weakneſs ſuch:
" Skill comes ſo low, and Life ſo faſt doth fly;
" We learn ſo little, and forget ſo much.

For this the wiſeſt of all moral Men
Said, *He knew nought, but that he nought did know.*
And the great mocking Maſter, mock'd not then,
When he ſaid, *Truth was buried here below.*

For how may we to other Things attain,
When none of us his own Soul underſtands?
For which the Devil mocks our curious Brain,
When *Know thy Self*, his Oracle commands.

For why ſhould we the buſy Soul believe,
When boldly ſhe concludes of that and this;
When of her *ſelf* ſhe can no Judgment give,
Nor how, nor whence, nor where, nor what ſhe is?

All things without, which round about we ſee,
We ſeek to know, and have therewith to do:
But that whereby we *reaſon, live, and be,*
Within our ſelves, we Strangers are thereto.

We ſeek to know the moving of each Sphere,
And the ſtrange Cauſe o' th' Ebbs and Floods of *Nile*;
But of that *Clock* which in our Breaſts we bear,
The ſubtile Motions we forget the while.

We that acquaint our ſelves with ev'ry *Zone,*
And paſs the *Tropicks,* and behold each *Pole*;
When we come home, are to our ſelves unknown,
And unacquainted ſtill with our own Soul.

We ſtudy *Speech,* but others we perſuade;
We *Leech-craft* learn, but others cure with it:
W' interpret Laws which other Men have made,
But read not thoſe which in our Hearts are writ.

Is it becauſe the Mind is like the Eye,
Thro' which it gather's Knowlege by Degrees;
Whoſe Rays reflect not, but ſpread outwardly;
Not ſeeing it ſelf, when other Things it ſees?

No,

No, doubtleſs; for the Mind can backward caſt
  Upon her ſelf, her Underſtanding Light;
But ſhe is ſo corrupt, and ſo defac'd,
  As her own *Image* doth her ſelf affright.

As is the Fable of the Lady fair,
  Which for her Luſt was turn'd into a Cow;
When thirſty, to a Stream ſhe did repair,
  And ſaw herſelf transform'd ſhe wiſt not how:

At firſt ſhe ſtartles, then ſhe ſtands amaz'd;
  At laſt with Terror ſhe from thence doth fly,
And loaths the wat'ry Glaſs wherein ſhe gaz'd,
  And ſhuns it ſtill, altho' for Thirſt ſhe die.

Ev'n ſo *Man's Soul*, which did God's Image bear,
  And was at firſt fair, good, and ſpotleſs pure;
Since with her *Sins*, her Beauties blotted were,
  Doth of all Sights her own Sight leaſt endure:

For ev'n at firſt Reflection ſhe eſpies
  Such ſtrange *Chimera*'s, and ſuch Monſters there;
Such Toys, ſuch *Anticks*, and ſuch Vanities,
  As ſhe retires and ſhrinks for Shame and Fear.

And as the Man loves leaſt at *Home* to be,
  That hath a ſluttiſh Houſe, haunted with *Sprites*;
So ſhe, impatient her own Faults to ſee,
  Turns from her *ſelf*, and in ſtrange things delights.

For this, few *know themſelves*: For Merchants broke,
View their Eſtate with Diſcontent and Pain;
And *Seas* as troubled, when they do revoke
Their flowing Waves into themſelves again.

And while the Face of outwards Things we find,
Pleaſing and fair, agreeable and ſweet,
Theſe things tranſport, and carry out the Mind,
That with her ſelf, the Mind can never meet.

Yet if *Affliction* once her Wars begin,
And threat the feebler *Senſe* with Sword and Fire,
The *Mind* contracts her ſelf, and ſhrinketh in,
And to her ſelf ſhe gladly doth retire;

As *Spiders* touch'd, ſeek their Webs inmoſt Part;
As *Bees* in Storms back to their Hives return;
As Blood in Danger gathers to the Heart;
As Men ſeek Towns, when Foes the Country burn.

If ought can teach us ought, *Affliction*'s Looks
(Making us pry into our ſelves ſo near)
Teach us to *know our ſelves* beyond all *Books*,
Or all the learned *Schools* that ever were.

This Miſtreſs lately pluck'd me by the Ear,
And many a golden Leſſon hath me taught;
Hath made my *Senſes* quick, and *Reaſon* clear,
Reform'd my *Will*, and rectify'd my *Thought*.

So

So do the *Winds* and *Thunders* cleanſe the Air;
So working Seas ſettle and purge the Wine;
So lopp'd and pruned Trees do flouriſh fair;
So doth the Fire the droſſy Gold refine.

Neither *Minerva*, nor the learned *Muſe*,
Nor Rules of *Art*, nor *Precepts* of the Wiſe,
Could in my Brain thoſe Beams of Skill infuſe,
As but the Glance of this *Dame*'s angry Eyes.

She within *Liſts* my ranging Mind hath brought,
That now beyond my ſelf I will not go;
My ſelf am *Centre* of my circling Thought,
Only *my ſelf* I ſtudy, learn, and know.

I know my *Body*'s of ſo frail a kind,
As Force without, Fevers within can kill:
I know the heavenly Nature of my *Mind*,
But 'tis corrupted both in *Wit* and *Will*:

I know my *Soul* hath Power to know all Things,
Yet is ſhe blind and ignorant in All:
I know I'm one of *Nature*'s little Kings,
Yet to the leaſt and vileſt Things am thrall.

I know my Life's a *Pain*, and but a *Span*;
I know my *Senſe* is mock'd in ev'ry Thing:
And to conclude, I know my ſelf a *Man*,
Which is a *proud*, and yet a *wretched* Thing.

OF THE ORIGINAL, NATURE, AND IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

THE *Lights of Heav'n* (which are the World's fair Eyes)
Look down into the World, the World to see;
And as they turn, or wander in the Skies,
Survey all Things that on the Centre be.

And

And yet the *Lights* which in my *Tower* do ſhine,
Mine *Eyes*, which view all Objects nigh and far,
Look not into this little World of mine,
Nor ſee my Face, wherein they fixed are.

Since *Nature* fails us in no needful Thing,
Why want I Means my inward Self to ſee?
Which Sight the Knowlege of my ſelf might bring,
Which to true Wiſdom is the firſt Degree.

That *Pow'r* which gave me Eyes the World to view,
To view my ſelf infus'd an *inward Light*,
Whereby my *Soul*, as by a *Mirror* true,
Of her own *Form* may take a perfect Sight.

But as the ſharpeſt *Eye* diſcerneth nought,
Except the *Sun-beams* in the Air do ſhine;
So the beſt *Soul*, with her reflecting Thought,
Sees not her ſelf, without ſome Light Divine.

O *Light*, which mak'ſt the Light which makes the Day!
Which ſett'ſt the Eye without, and Mind within;
Lighten my Spirit with one clear heavenly Ray,
Which now to view it ſelf doth firſt begin.

For her true Form, how can my Spark diſcern,
Which, dim by *Nature*, *Art* did never clear;
When the great Wits from whence all Skill we learn,
Are ignorant both *what* ſhe is, and *where*?

One thinks the *Soul* is *Air*; another, *Fire*;
Another, *Blood* diffus'd about the Heart;
Another ſaith, the *Elements* conſpire,
And to her *Eſſence* each doth give a Part.

Muſicians think our *Souls* are *Harmonies*;
Phyſicians hold, that they *Complexions* be;
Epicures make them Swarms of *Atomies*,
Which do by Chance into our Bodies flee.

Some think one gen'ral *Soul* fill's ev'ry Brain,
As the bright *Sun* ſheds Light in ev'ry Star;
And others think the Name of *Soul* is vain,
And that we only *well-mix'd* Bodies are.

In Judgment of her *Subſtance* thus they vary,
And vary thus in Judgment of her *Seat*;
For ſome her Chair up to the Brain do carry,
Some ſink it down into the *Stomach*'s Heat.

Some place it in the Root of Life, the *Heart*;
Some in the *Liver*, Fountain of the Veins:
Some ſay, *She's all in all, and all in ev'ry Part*:
Some ſay, ſhe's not contain'd, but all contains.

Thus theſe great Clerks their little Wiſdom ſhow,
While with their Doctrines they at *Hazard* play;
Toſſing their light Opinions to and fro,
To mock the *Lewd*, as learn'd in This as They.

For no craz'd Brain could ever yet propound,
Touching the *Soul*, ſo vain and fond a Thought;
But ſome among theſe Maſters have been found,
Which in their *Schools* the ſelf-ſame Thing have taught.

God only wiſe, to puniſh Pride of Wit,
Among Mens Wits hath this Confuſion wrought,
As the proud *Tow'r*, whoſe Points the Clouds did hit;
By Tongues Confuſion was to Ruin brought.

But (*Thou*) which didſt *Man*'s *Soul* of Nothing make,
And when to Nothing it was fall'n again,
" To make it new, the Form of Man didſt take;
" And GOD with GOD, becam'ſt a *Man* with Men.

Thou that haſt faſhion'd twice this *Soul* of ours,
So that ſhe is by double Title thine,
Thou only know'ſt her Nature, and her Pow'rs;
Her ſubtile Form, thou only canſt define.

To judge her ſelf, ſhe muſt her ſelf tranſcend,
As greater *Circles* comprehend the leſs:
But ſhe wants Pow'r, her own Pow'rs to extend,
As fetter'd *Men* cannot their Strength expreſs.

But thou bright Morning-Star, thou Riſing-*Sun*,
Which in theſe latter Times haſt brought to Light
Thoſe Myſteries that ſince the World begun,
Lay hid in Darkneſs, and Eternal Night.

Thou (*like the Sun*) doſt, with an equal Ray,
Into the *Palace* and the *Cottage* ſhine;
And ſhew'ſt the *Soul* both to the Clerk and Lay,
By the clear *Lamp* of th' *Oracle* divine.

This *Lamp*, thro' all the Regions of my Brain,
Where my *Soul* ſits, doth ſpread ſuch Beams of Grace,
As now, methinks, I do diſtinguiſh plain,
Each ſubtile Line of her *Immortal* Face.

The Soul a Subſtance and a *Spirit* is,
Which GOD himſelf doth in the Body make,
Which makes the *Man*, for every Man from this,
The *Nature* of a *Man*, and *Name* doth take.

And tho' this Spirit be to the Body knit,
As an apt Means her Pow'rs to exerciſe,
Which are *Life*, *Motion*, *Senſe*, and *Will*, and *Wit*;
Yet ſhe *ſurvives*, although the Body *dies*.

SECT.

SECT. I.

That the Soul *is a Thing ſubſiſting by it ſelf, and has proper Operations without the Body.*

SHE *is a Subſtance,* and a *real* Thing;
1. Which hath it ſelf an *actual,* working *Might*;
2. Which neither from the *Senſes* Power doth ſpring,
3. Nor from the *Body's Humours* temper'd right.

She is a *Vine,* which doth no propping need,
To make her ſpread her ſelf, or ſpring upright:
She is a *Star,* whoſe Beams do not proceed
From any *Sun,* but from a *Native* Light.

For when ſhe ſorts Things *preſent* with Things *paſt,*
And thereby Things to *come* doth oft fore-ſee;
When ſhe doth *doubt* at firſt, and *chuſe* at laſt,
Theſe Acts her *Own,* without her Body be.

When of the Dew, which th' *Eye* and *Ear* do take
From Flow'rs abroad, and bring into the Brain,
She doth within both Wax and Honey make:
This Work is her's, this is her proper Pain.

When

When ſhe from ſundry Acts, one Skill doth draw,
Gath'ring from divers Fights, one Art of War;
From many Caſes like, one Rule of Law:
Theſe her Collections, not the *Senſes* are.

When in th' *Effects* ſhe doth the *Cauſes* know;
And ſeeing the *Stream*, thinks where the *Spring* doth *riſe*;
And ſeeing the Branch, conceives the Root below:
Theſe Things ſhe views, without the Body's Eyes.

When ſhe, without a *Pegaſus*, doth fly
Swifter than Light'ning's Fire, from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*;
About the *Centre*, and above the *Sky*,
She travels then, altho' the Body reſt.

When all her Works ſhe formeth firſt within,
Proportions them, and ſees their perfect End,
E'er ſhe in Act doth any Part begin:
What Inſtruments doth then the Body lend?

When without Hands ſhe doth thus *Caſtles* build,
Sees without Eyes, and without Feet doth run;
When ſhe digeſts the World, yet is not fill'd:
By her own *Pow'rs* theſe Miracles are done.

When ſhe defines, argues, divides, compounds,
Conſiders *Virtue*, *Vice*, and *general Things*;
And marrying divers Principles and Grounds,
Out of their Match, a true Concluſion brings.

These Actions in her Closet, all alone,
(Retir'd within her self) she doth fulfil;
Use of her Body's Organs she hath none,
When she doth use the Pow'rs of Wit and Will.

Yet in the Body's Prison so she lyes,
As thro' the Body's Windows she must look,
Her divers Powers of *Sense to exercise*,
By gath'ring Notes out of the *World*'s great Book.

Nor can her self discourse or judge of ought,
But what the *Sense* collects, and home doth bring;
And yet the Pow'rs of her discoursing Thought,
From these Collections, is a *diverse* Thing.

For tho' our Eyes can nought but Colours see,
Yet Colours give them not their Pow'r of Sight;
So, tho' these Fruits of *Sense* her Objects be,
Yet she discerns them by her proper Light.

The Workman on his Stuff his Skill doth shew,
And yet the Stuff gives not the Man his Skill:
Kings their Affairs do by their Servants know,
But order them by their own Royal Will.

So, tho' this cunning Mistress, and this Queen,
Doth, as her Instruments, the *Senses* use,
To know all things that are *felt*, *heard*, or *seen*;
Yet she her self doth only *judge* and *chuse*.

Ev'n

Ev'n as a prudent *Emperor*, that reigns
By *Sovereign* Title, over ſundry Lands,
Borrows, in mean Affairs, his Subjects Pains,
Sees by their Eyes, and writeth by their Hands;

But Things of Weight and Conſequence indeed,
Himſelf doth in his Chamber them debate;
Where all his Counſellors he doth exceed,
As far in Judgment, as he doth in State.

Or as the Man whom *Princes* do advance,
Upon their gracious *Mercy-ſeat* to ſit,
Doth Common Things, of Courſe and Circumſtance,
To the *Reports* of Common Men commit:

But when the Cauſe it ſelf muſt be decreed,
Himſelf in Perſon, in his proper Court,
To grave and ſolemn Hearing doth proceed,
Of ev'ry Proof, and ev'ry By-Report.

Then, like GOD's Angel, he pronounceth Right,
And Milk and Honey from his Tongue doth flow:
Happy are they that ſtill are in his Sight,
To reap the Wiſdom which his Lips do ſow.

Right ſo the *Soul*, which is a Lady free,
And doth the Juſtice of her *State* maintain:
Becauſe the Senſes ready Servants be,
Attending nigh about her Court, the Brain:

By them the Forms of outward Things ſhe learns,
For they return into the *Fantaſie*,
Whatever each of them abroad diſcerns;
And there inrol it for the Mind to ſee.

But when ſhe ſits to judge the *Good* and *Ill*,
And to diſcern betwixt the *Falſe* and *True*,
She is not guided by the *Senſes* Skill,
But doth each Thing in her own *Mirror* view.

Then ſhe the *Senſes* checks, which oft do err,
And ev'n againſt their falſe *Reports* decrees;
And oft ſhe doth condemn what they prefer;
For with a Pow'r above the *Senſe*, ſhe ſees.

Therefore no *Senſe* the precious Joys conceives,
Which in her private Contemplations be;
For then the raviſh'd Spirit th' *Senſes* leaves,
Hath her own Pow'rs, and proper Actions free.

Her Harmonies are ſweet, and full of Skill,
When on the Body's Inſtruments ſhe plays,
But the Proportions of the *Wit* and *Will*,
Thoſe ſweet Accords are even th' Angels Lays.

Theſe Tunes of *Reaſon* are *Amphion*'s Lyre,
Wherewith he did the *Thebane* City found:
Theſe are the Notes wherewith the Heavenly *Choir*,
The Praiſe of him which made the Heav'n, doth ſound.

Then her *ſelf-being Nature* ſhines in This,
That ſhe performs her *nobleſt* Works *alone*:
" The *Work*, the Touchſtone of the *Nature* is;
" And by their *Operations* Things are known.

SECT II.

That the SOUL *is more than a Perfection, or Reflection of the* Senſe.

ARE *they not ſenſeleſs* then, that think the Soul
Nought but a fine Perfection of the *Senſe*,
Or of the Forms which *Fancy* doth inroll;
A *quick Reſulting*, and a *Conſequence*?

What is it then that doth the *Senſe* accuſe,
Both of *falſe Judgment*, and *fond Appetites*?
What makes us do what *Senſe* doth moſt refuſe,
Which oft in Torment of the *Senſe* delights?

Senſe thinks the *Planets Spheres* not much aſunder:
What tells us then their Diſtance is ſo far?
Senſe thinks the Light'ning born before the Thunder:
What tells us then they both together are?

When Men ſee Crows far off upon a Tow'r,
Senſe ſaith, they're Crows: What makes us think them (Men?
When we, in *Agues*, think all ſweet Things ſower,
What makes us know our Tongue's falſe Judgment then?

What Pow'r was that, whereby *Medea* ſaw,
And well approv'd, and prais'd the better Courſe,
When her rebellious *Senſe* did ſo withdraw
Her feeble Pow'rs, that ſhe purſu'd the worſe?

Did *Senſe* perſuade *Ulyſſes* not to hear
The Mermaids Songs, which ſo his Men did pleaſe,
That they were all perſuaded, thro' the Ear,
To quit the Ship, and leap into the *Seas*?

Could any Pow'r of *Senſe* the *Roman* move,
To burn his own Right Hand with Courage ſtout?
Could *Senſe* make *Marius* ſit unbound, and prove
The cruel Lancing of the knotty Gout?

Doubtleſs in *Man* there is a *Nature* found,
Beſide the *Senſes*, and above them far;
" Tho' moſt Men being in ſenſual Pleaſures drown'd,
" It ſeems their *Souls* but in their *Senſes* are.

If we had nought but *Senſe*, then only they
Should have ſound Minds, which have their *Senſes* ſound;
But *Wiſdom* grows, when *Senſes* do decay,
And *Folly* moſt in quickeſt *Senſe* is found.

If we had nought but *Senſe*, each living Wight,
Which we call *Brute*, would be more ſharp than we,
As having *Senſe's apprehenſive Might*,
In a more clear and excellent Degree.

But they do want that *quick diſcourſing Pow'r,*
Which doth in us the erring *Senſe* correct;
Therefore the *Bee* did ſuck the painted Flow'r,
And *Birds,* of Grapes the cunning Shadow peck'd.

Senſe Outſides knows, the Soul thro' all things ſees:
Senſe, Circumſtance; ſhe doth the *Subſtance* view:
Senſe ſees the Bark; but ſhe the Life of Trees:
Senſe hears the Sounds; but ſhe the Concords true.

But why do I the *Soul and Senſe* divide,
When *Senſe* is but a *Pow'r,* which ſhe extends;
Which being in divers Parts *diverſify'd,*
The divers *Forms* of Objects apprehends?

This Power ſpreads outward, but the *Root* doth grow
In th' inward *Soul,* which only doth perceive;
For th' *Eyes and Ears* no more their Objects know,
Than *Glaſſes* know what Faces they receive.

For if we chance to fix our Thoughts elſewhere,
Tho' our Eyes open be, we cannot ſee:
And if one *Pow'r* did not both ſee and hear,
Our Sights and Sounds would always double be.

Then is the *Soul* a Nature, which contains
The Pow'r of *Senſe,* within a greater Pow'r;
Which doth employ and uſe the *Senſe*'s Pains,
But ſits and rules within her private Bow'r.

SECT. III.

That the Soul *is more than the Temperature of the Humours of the Body.*

IF *ſhe doth then* the ſubtile *Senſe* excell,
How groſs are they that drown her in the Blood?
Or in the Body's Humours temper'd well;
As if in them ſuch high Perfection ſtood?

As if moſt Skill in that *Muſician* were,
Which had the beſt, and beſt-tun'd *Inſtrument*?
As if the *Pencil* neat, and *Colours* clear,
Had Pow'r to make the *Painter* excellent?

Why doth not *Beauty* then refine the *Wit*,
And good Complexion rectify the *Will*?
Why doth not *Health* bring *Wiſdom* ſtill with it?
Why doth not Sickneſs make Men brutiſh ſtill?

Who can in *Memory*, or *Wit*, or *Will*,
Or *Air*, or *Fire*, or *Earth*, or *Water* find?
What Alchymiſt can draw, with all his Skill,
The *Quinteſſence* of theſe out of the Mind?

If th' *Elements*, which have nor *Life* nor *Senſe*,
Can breed in us ſo great a *Pow'r* as this;
Why give they not *themſelves* like Excellence,
Or other Things wherein their *Mixture* is?

If she were but the Body's Quality,
Then wou'd she be with it *sick, maim'd,* and *blind*;
But we perceive, where these Privations be,
An *healthy, perfect,* and *sharp-sighted Mind.*

If she the Body's Nature did partake,
Her Strength would with the Body's Strength *decay*;
But when the Body's strongest Sinews slack,
Then is the *Soul* most active, quick, and gay.

If she were but the Body's Accident,
And her sole Being did in it subsist,
As *White in Snow,* she might her self absent,
And in the Body's Substance not be miss'd.

But *it* on *her,* not *she* on *it* depends;
For *she* the Body doth sustain and cherish;
Such secret Pow'rs of Life to it she lends,
That when they fail, then doth the Body perish.

Since then the *Soul works by her self alone,*
Springs not from Sense, nor *Humours well agreeing*;
Her Nature is peculiar, and her own;
She is a *Substance,* and a *perfect Being.*

SECT. IV.

That the Soul *is a Spirit.*

BUT *tho'* this Subſtance be the Root of *Senſe*,
Senſe knows her not, which doth but *Bodies* know:
She is a Spirit, and Heav'nly Influence,
Which from the Fountain of God's Spirit doth flow.

She is a Spirit, yet not like *Air* or *Wind*;
Nor like the *Spirits* about the *Heart*, or *Brain*;
Nor like thoſe Spirits which Alchymiſts do find,
When they in ev'ry Thing ſeek Gold in *vain*.

For ſhe all *Natures* under Heav'n doth paſs, (ſee
Being like thoſe Spirits, which GOD's bright Face d
Or like *Himſelf*, whoſe *Image* once ſhe was,
Tho' now (*alas!*) ſhe ſcarce his *Shadow* be.

For of all *Forms*, ſhe holds the firſt Degree,
That are to groſs, material Bodies knit;
Yet ſhe her ſelf is *bodyleſs* and free;
And tho' confin'd, is almoſt infinite.

Were ſhe a *Body*, how could ſhe remain
Within this Body, which is leſs than ſhe?
Or how could ſhe the World's great Shape contain,
And in our narrow Breaſts contained be?

All *Bodies* are confin'd within ſome Place,
But *ſhe* all Place within her ſelf confines.
All *Bodies* have their Meaſure and their Space;
But who can draw the *Soul's* dimenſive Lines?

No *Body* can at once two Forms admit,
Except the one the other do deface;
But in the *Soul* ten thouſand Forms do ſit,
And none intrudes into her Neighbour's Place.

All *Bodies* are with other Bodies fill'd,
But ſhe receives both *Heav'n* and *Earth* together;
Nor are their Forms by raſh Encounter ſpill'd,
For there they ſtand, and neither toucheth either.

Nor can her wide Embracements filled be;
For they that moſt and greateſt Things embrace,
Enlarge thereby their Mind's Capacity,
As Streams enlarg'd, enlarge the Channel's Space.

All Things receiv'd, do ſuch Proportion take,
As thoſe Things have, wherein they are receiv'd:
So little Glaſſes little Faces make,
And narrow Webs on narrow Frames are weav'd.

Then what vaſt Body muſt we make the *Mind*,
Wherein are Men, Beaſts, Trees, Towns, Seas and Lands;
And yet each Thing a proper Place doth find,
And each Thing in the true *Proportion* ſtands?

Doubtleſs this could not be, but that ſhe turns
Bodies to Spirits, by *Sublimation* ſtrange;
As Fire converts to Fire the Things it burns;
As we our Meats into our Nature change.

From their groſs *Matter* ſhe abſtracts the *Forms*,
And draws a kind of *Quinteſſence* from Things;
Which to her proper Nature ſhe transforms,
To bear them light on her Cœleſtial Wings.

This doth ſhe, when from Things *particular*
She doth abſtract the *univerſal Kinds*,
Which bodileſs and immaterial are,
And can be only lodg'd within our Minds.

And thus from divers *Accidents* and *Acts*,
Which do within our Obſervation fall,
She Goddeſſes and Pow'rs divine abſtracts;
As *Nature*, *Fortune*, and the *Virtues* all.

Again; How can ſhe ſev'ral *Bodies* know,
If in her ſelf a *Body*'s Form ſhe bear?
How can a Mirror ſundry Faces ſhew,
If from all Shapes and Forms it be not clear?

Nor could we by our Eyes all Colours learn,
Except our Eyes were of all Colours void;
Nor ſundry Taſtes can any Tongue diſcern,
Which is with groſs and bitter Humours cloy'd.

Nor can a Man of *Paſſions* judge aright,
Except his Mind be from all Paſſions free:
Nor can a *Judge* his Office well acquit,
If he poſſeſs'd of either Party be.

If, laſtly, this quick Pow'r a Body were,
Were it as ſwift as is the *Wind*, or *Fire*,
(Whoſe *Attoms* do the One down ſide-ways bear,
And th' Other make in *Pyramids* aſpire.)

Her nimble Body yet in time muſt move,
And not in Inſtants thro' all Places ſlide:
But ſhe is nigh and far, beneath, above,
In Point of Time, which Thought cannot divide:

She's ſent as ſoon to *China* as to *Spain*;
And thence returns, as ſoon as ſhe is ſent:
She meaſures with one Time, and with one Pain,
An Ell of Silk, and Heav'ns wide ſpreading Tent.

Is then the *Soul* a Subſtance hath alone,
Beſides the Body, in which ſhe is confin'd;
So hath ſhe not a *Body* of her own,
But is a *Spirit*, and *immaterial Mind*.

Since *Body and Soul* have ſuch Diverſities,
Well might we muſe, how firſt their *Match* began;
But that we learn, that *He* that ſpread the Skies,
And fix'd the Earth, firſt form'd the *Soul* in Man.

This true *Prometheus* firſt made Man of Earth,
And ſhed in him a Beam of heav'nly Fire;
Now in their Mother's Wombs, before their Birth,
Doth in all Sons of Men their *Souls* inſpire.

And as *Minerva* is in Fables ſaid,
From *Jove*, without a Mother, to proceed;
So our true *Jove*, without a Mother's Aid,
Doth daily Millions of *Minerva's* breed.

SECT. V.

Erroneous Opinions of the Creation of SOULS

THen neither from Eternity before,
Nor from the Time, when *Time*'s firſt Point be
Made he all *Souls*, which now he keeps in ſtore;
Some in the Moon, and others in the Sun;

Nor in *a ſecret Cloyſter* doth he keep
Theſe *Virgin-Sports* until their *Marriage-Day*;
Nor locks them up in Chambers, where they ſleep,
Till they awake within theſe Beds of Clay.

Nor did he firſt a certain Number make,
Infuſing part in *Beaſts*, and part in *Men*,
And, as unwilling further Pains to take,
Would make no more than thoſe he framed then.

So that the Widow-*Soul* her *Body* dying,
Unto the next-born *Body* married was;
And ſo by often changing and ſupplying,
Mens Souls to Beaſts, and Beaſts to Men did paſs.

(Theſe Thoughts are fond; for ſince the Bodies born
Be more in Number far, than thoſe that die,
Thouſands muſt be abortive and forlorn,
E'er others Deaths to them their *Souls* ſupply:)

But as *God's Handmaid, Nature,* doth create
Bodies in Time diſtinct, and Order due;
So GOD gives *Souls* the like ſucceſſive Date,
Which *Himſelf* makes, in Bodies formed new?

Which *Himſelf* makes of no material Thing;
For unto Angels he no Pow'r hath given,
Either to form the Shape, or Stuff to bring
From *Air,* or *Fire,* or *Subſtance of the Heav'n.*

Nor herein doth he *Nature's* Service uſe;
For tho' from Bodies ſhe can Bodies bring,
Yet could ſhe never Souls from Souls *traduce,*
As Fire from Fire, or Light from Light doth ſpring.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

That the SOUL *is not* ex Traduce.

ALas! that ſome who were great Lights of old,
And in their Hands the Lamp of GOD did bear!
Some rev'rend Fathers did this Error hold,
Having their Eyes dimm'd with religious Fear.

Objection.

For when (ſay they) by Rule of Faith we find,
That ev'ry *Soul*, unto her *Body* knit,
Brings from the Mother's Womb the *Sin of Kind*,
The *Root* of all the *Ill* ſhe doth commit.

How can we ſay that GOD the *Soul* doth make,
But we muſt make him Author of her Sin?
Then from Man's *Soul* ſhe doth Beginning take,
Since in Man's *Soul* Corruption did begin.

For if GOD make her firſt, he makes her ill,
(Which God forbid our Thoughts ſhould yield unto)
Or makes the Body her fair Form to ſpill,
Which of it ſelf it had not Pow'r to do:

Not *Adam*'s *Body*, but his *Soul* did ſin,
And ſo her ſelf unto Corruption brought;
But our poor *Soul* corrupted is within,
E'er ſhe had ſinn'd, either in Act or Thought:

And

And yet we ſee in her ſuch Pow'rs Divine,
As we could gladly think, *from* GOD *ſhe came*;
Fain would we make him Author of the Wine,
If for the Dregs we could ſome other blame.

Anſwer.

Thus theſe good Men with holy Zeal were blind,
When on the other Part the Truth did ſhine;
Whereof we do clear Demonſtrations find,
By Light of *Nature*, and by Light *Divine*.

None are ſo groſs, as to contend for this,
That Souls from Bodies may traduced be;
Between whoſe Natures no Proportion is,
When Root and Branch in Nature ſtill agree.

But many ſubtile Wits have juſtify'd,
That *Souls* from *Souls* ſpiritually may ſpring;
Which (if the Nature of the *Soul* be try'd)
Will ev'n in Nature prove as groſs a Thing.

SECT. VII.

Reaſons drawn from Nature.

FOR all Things made are either made of nought,
Or made of Stuff that ready made doth ſtand;
Of nought no Creature ever formed ought,
For that is proper to th' Almighty's Hand.

If then the *Soul* another *Soul* do make,
Becauſe her Pow'r is kept within a Bound,
She muſt ſome former Stuff, or *Matter* take:
But in the *Soul* there is no *Matter* found.

Then if her heav'nly Form do not agree
With any *Matter* which the World contains,
Then ſhe of *Nothing* muſt created be;
And to *Create*, to GOD alone pertains.

Again, if *Souls* do other *Souls* beget,
'Tis by themſelves, or by the Body's Pow'r:
If by themſelves, what doth their Working let,
But they might *Souls* engender ev'ry Hour?

If by the Body, how can *Wit* and *Will*
Join with the Body only in this Act,
Since when they do their other Works fulfil,
They from the Body do themſelves *abſtract*?

Again, if *Souls* of *Souls* begotten were,
Into each other they ſhould change and move:
And *Change* and *Motion ſtill Corruption* bear;
How ſhall we then the *Soul* immortal prove?

If, laſtly, *Souls* do Generation uſe,
Then ſhould they ſpread incorruptible Seed:
What then becomes of that which they do loſe,
When th' Acts of Generation do not ſpeed?

And tho' the *Soul* could caſt ſpiritual Seed,
Yet *would* ſhe not, becauſe ſhe *never dies:*
For mortal Things deſire their Like to breed,
That ſo they may their Kind immortalize.

Therefore the Angels, Sons of GOD are nam'd,
And marry not, nor are in Marriage giv'n:
Their Spirits and ours are of one *Subſtance* fram'd,
And have one Father, ev'n the *Lord of Heav'n*;

Who would at firſt, that in each other Thing,
The *Earth* and *Water* living *Souls* ſhould breed,
But that *Man's Soul*, whom he would make their King,
Should from himſelf immediately proceed.

And when he took the *Woman* from *Man*'s Side,
Doubtleſs himſelf inſpir'd her *Soul* alone;
For 'tis not ſaid, he did *Man's Soul* divide,
But took *Fleſh of his Fleſh, Bone of his Bone.*

Laſtly, GOD being made Man, for Man's own Sake,
And being like Man in all, except in Sin,
His Body from the *Virgin*'s Womb did take;
But all agree, GOD *form'd his Soul within.*

Then is the *Soul* from GOD; ſo *Pagans* ſay,
Which ſaw by *Nature*'s Light her heav'nly Kind;
Naming her *Kin to* GOD, and GOD's *bright Ray*,
A Citizen of Heav'n to Earth confin'd.

But now I feel, they pluck me by the Ear,
Whom my young *Muſe* ſo boldly termed blind;
And crave more heav'nly Light, that Cloud to clear;
Which makes them think, God doth not make the Mind

SECT. VIII.

Reaſons from Divinity.

GOD doubtleſs makes her, and doth make her good,
And grafts her in the Body, there to ſpring;
Which, tho' it be corrupted Fleſh and Blood,
Can no way to the *Soul* Corruption bring:

Yet is not God the Author of her *Ill*,
Tho' Author of her *Being*, and *being there*:
And if we dare to judge our *Maker*'s Will,
He can condemn us, and himſelf can clear.

Firſt, God from infinite Eternity
Decreed, what *hath been*, *is*, or *ſhall be* done;
And was reſolv'd, that ev'ry Man ſhould be,
And in his Turn, his Race of Life ſhould run:

And ſo did purpoſe all the *Souls* to make,
That ever *have been* made, or *ever ſhall*;
And that their *Being* they ſhould only take
In Humane Bodies, or not *be* at all.

Was

Was it then fit that ſuch a weak Event
(*Weakneſs it ſelf*, the Sin and Fall of Man)
His Counſel's Execution ſhould prevent,
Decreed and fix'd before the World began?

Or that one *Penal Law* by *Adam* broke,
Should make GOD break his own *Eternal Law*;
The ſettled Order of the World revoke,
And change all Forms of Things which he foreſaw?

Could *Eve*'s weak Hand, extended to the Tree,
In ſunder rend that *Adamantine Chain*,
Whoſe golden Links, *Effects* and *Cauſes* be;
And which to GOD's own Chair doth fix'd remain?

O, could we ſee how Cauſe from Cauſe doth ſpring!
How mutually they link'd, and folded are!
And here how oft one diſagreeing String
The Harmony doth rather make than mar!

And view at once, how *Death* by *Sin* is brought;
And how from *Death* a better *Life* doth riſe!
How this GOD's *Juſtice* and his *Mercy* taught!
We this Decree would praiſe, as right and wiſe.

But we that meaſure Times by Firſt and Laſt,
The Sight of Things *ſucceſſively* to take,
When GOD on all at once his View doth caſt,
And of all Times doth but one *Inſtant* make.

All

All in *Himſelf*, as in a *Glaſs*, he ſees;
For *from him, by him, through him, all Things be*:
His Sight is not diſcourſive, by degrees;
But ſeeing the Whole, each ſingle Part doth ſee.

He looks on *Adam*, as a *Root*, or *Well*;
And on his Heirs, as *Branches*, and as *Streams*:
He ſees *all* Men, as *one* Man, tho' they dwell
In ſundry Countries, and in ſundry Realms.

And as the *Root* and *Branch* are but one *Tree*,
And *Well* and *Stream* do but one *River* make;
So, if the *Root* and *Well* corrupted be,
The *Stream* and *Branch* the ſame Corruption take.

So, when the Root and Fountain of Mankind
Did draw Corruption, and GOD's Curſe, by Sin;
This was a Charge, that all his Heirs did bind,
And all his Offſpring grew corrupt therein.

And as when th'Hand doth ſtrike, the Man offends,
(For *Part from Whole, Law ſevers not in this*)
So *Adam*'s Sin to the whole Kind extends:
For all their Natures are but Part of his.

Therefore this *Sin of Kind*, not perſonal,
But real, and hereditary was;
The Guilt thereof, and Puniſhment to all,
By Courſe of Nature, and of Law doth paſs.

For as that eaſy Law was giv'n to all,
To Anceſtor and Heir, to Firſt and Laſt;
So was the firſt Tranſgeſſion general;
And all did pluck the Fruit, and all did taſte.

Of this we find ſome Foot-ſteps in our Law,
Which doth her Root from GOD and Nature take;
Ten thouſand Men ſhe doth together draw,
And of them all, one Corporation make:

Yet theſe, and their Succeſſors, are but one;
And if they gain, or loſe their Liberties,
They harm, or profit not themſelves alone,
But ſuch as in ſucceeding Times ſhall riſe.

And ſo the Anceſtor, and all his Heirs,
Tho' they in Number paſs the Stars of Heav'n,
Are ſtill but one; his Forfeitures are theirs,
And unto them are his Advancements giv'n.

His Civil Acts do bind and bar them all;
And as from *Adam*, all Corruption take,
So, if the Father's Crime be *Capital*,
In all the *Blood*, Law doth Corruption make.

Is it then juſt with us, to diſinherit
Th'unborn Nephews, for the Father's Fault;
And to advance again, for one Man's Merit,
A thouſand Heirs, that have deſerved nought?

And is not GOD's Decree as juſt as ours,
If he, for *Adam*'s Sin, his Sons deprive
Of all thoſe native Virtues, and thoſe Pow'rs,
Which he to him, and to his Race did give?

For, what is this contagious Sin of Kind,
But a *Privation* of that Grace within,
And of that great rich Dowry of the Mind,
Which all had had, but for the firſt Man's Sin?

If then a Man, on light Conditions, gain
A great Eſtate, to him, and his, for ever;
If wilfully he forfeit it again,
Who doth bemoan his Heir, or blame the Giver?

So, tho' GOD make the *Soul* good, rich and fair,
Yet when her Form is to the Body knit,
Which makes the Man, which Man is *Adam*'s *Heir*,
Juſtly forthwith he takes his Grace from it:

And then the *Soul*, being firſt from Nothing brought,
When GOD's Grace fails her, doth to Nothing fall;
And this *declining Proneneſs unto Nought*,
Is ev'n that *Sin* that we are born withal.

Yet not alone the firſt good Qualities,
Which in the firſt *Soul* were, deprived are;
But in their Place the contrary do riſe,
And real Spots of Sin her Beauty mar.

Nor

Nor is it ſtrange, that *Adam*'s ill Deſert
Should be transferr'd unto his guilty Race,
When *Chriſt* his Grace and Juſtice doth impart
To Men unjuſt, and ſuch as have no Grace.

Laſtly, The *Soul* were better ſo to be
Born Slave to Sin, than not to be at all;
Since (if ſhe do believe) one ſets her free,
That makes her mount the higher for her Fall,

Yet this the curious Wits will not content;
They yet will know (ſince GOD foreſaw this Ill)
Why his high Providence did not prevent
The Declination of the firſt Man's Will.

If by his Word he had the Current ſtay'd
of *Adam*'s Will, which was by Nature free,
It had been One, as if his Word had ſaid,
I will henceforth, that *Man no Man ſhall be.*

For what is Man without a moving Mind,
Which hath a judging *Wit*, and chuſing *Will*?
Now, if GOD's Pow'r ſhould her Election bind,
Her Motions then would ceaſe, and ſtand all ſtill.

And why did GOD in Man this *Soul* infuſe,
But that he ſhould his Maker *know* and *love*?
Now if *Love* be compell'd, and cannot chuſe,
How can it grateful, or thank-worthy prove?

Love

Love muſt free-hearted be, and voluntary;
And not inchanted, or by Fate conſtrain'd:
Nor like that Love, which did *Ulyſſes* carry
To *Circe*'s Iſle, with mighty Charms enchain'd.

Beſides, Were we unchangeable in *Will*,
And of a *Wit* that nothing could miſ-deem;
Equal to GOD, whoſe Wiſdom ſhineth ſtill,
And never errs, we might our ſelves eſteem.

So that if Man would be unvariable,
He muſt be GOD, or like a Rock or Tree;
For ev'n the perfect Angels were not ſtable,
But had a Fall more deſperate than we.

Then let us praiſe that Pow'r, which makes us be
Men as we are, and reſt contented ſo;
And knowing Man's Fall was Curioſity,
Admire GOD's Counſels, which we cannot know.

And let us know that GOD the Maker is
Of all the *Souls*, in all the Men that be;
Yet their Corruption is no Fault of his,
But the firſt Man's, that broke GOD's firſt Decree.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Why the SOUL *is united to the Body.*

THis *Subſtance*, and this *Spirit of God's own making*,
Is in the Body plac'd, and planted here,
" That both of GOD and of the World partaking,
" Of all that is, Man might the Image bear.

GOD firſt made Angels bodileſs, pure Minds;
Then other Things, which mindleſs Bodies be;
Laſt, he made Man, th' *Horizon* 'twixt both Kinds.
In whom we do the World's Abridgment ſee.

Beſides, this World below did need *one Wight*,
Which might thereof diſtinguiſh ev'ry Part;
Make uſe thereof, and take therein Delight;
And order Things with Induſtry and Art:

Which alſo GOD might in his Works admire,
And here beneath yield him both Pray'r and Praiſe;
As there, above, the holy Angels Choir
Doth ſpread his Glory forth with ſpiritual Lays.

Laſtly, The Brute, unreaſonable Wights,
Did want a *viſible King*, o'er them to reign:
And GOD himſelf thus to the World unites,
That ſo the World might endleſs Bliſs obtain.

SECT.

SECT. X.

In what Manner the SOUL *is united to the Bo*

BUT how ſhall we this *Union* well expreſs ?
Nought ties the *Soul*, her Subtilty is ſuch ;
She moves the Body, which ſhe doth poſſeſs,
Yet no Part toucheth, but by *Virtue*'s Touch.

Then dwells ſhe not therein as in a *Tent*,
Nor as a Pilot in his *Ship* doth ſit,
Nor as the Spider in his *Web* is pent,
Nor as the Wax retains the Print in it,

Nor as a Veſſel Water doth contain,
Nor as one Liquor in another ſhed,
Nor as the Heat doth in the Fire remain,
Nor as a Voice throughout the Air is ſpread :

But as the fair and chearful *Morning Light*
Doth here and there her Silver-beams impart,
And in an Inſtant doth her ſelf unite
To the tranſparent Air, in all, and ev'ry Part :

Still reſting whole, when Blows the Air divide ;
Abiding pure, when th' Air is moſt corrupted ;
Throughout th' Air, her Beams diſperſing wide ;
And when the Air is toſs'd, not interrupted :

So doth the piercing *Soul* the Body fill,
Being *all* in *all*, and all in part diffus'd;
Indiviſible, incorruptible ſtill;
Not forc'd, encounter'd, troubled, or confus'd.

And as the *Sun* above, the Light doth bring,
Tho' we behold it in the Air below;
So from th' Eternal Light the *Soul* doth ſpring,
Tho' in the Body ſhe her Pow'rs do ſhow.

SECT. XI.

How the SOUL *exerciſes the Powers in the Body.*

BUT *as* the World's *Sun* doth Effects beget
Diff'rent, in divers Places ev'ry Day;
Here *Autumn*'s Temp'rature, there *Summer*'s Heat;
Here flow'ry *Spring-tide*, and there *Winter*-Gray:

Here *Ev'n*, there *Morn*; here *Noon*, there *Day*, there *Night*,
Melts Wax, dries Clay, makes Flow'rs, ſome quick, (ſome dead;
Makes the *Moor* black, the *European* white;
Th' *American* tawny, and th' *Eaſt-Indian* red:

So in our little World, this *Soul* of ours
Being only one, and to one Body ty'd,
Doth uſe, on divers Objects, divers Powers;
And ſo are her Effects diverſify'd.

SECT. XII.

The Vegetative Power of the SOUL.

HER *quick'ning* Pow'r in ev'ry living Part,
Doth as a Nurſe or as a Mother ſerve,
And doth employ her *Oeconomick Art*,
And buſy Care, her Houſhold to preſerve.

Here ſhe *attracts*, and there ſhe doth *retain*;
There ſhe *decocts*, and doth the Food prepare;
There ſhe *diſtributes* it to ev'ry Vein,
There ſhe *expels* what ſhe may fitly ſpare.

This Pow'r to *Martha* may compared be,
Who buſy was the *Houſhold Things* to do;
Or to a *Dryas*, living in a Tree;
For ev'n to Trees this Pow'r is proper too.

And tho' the *Soul* may not this Pow'r extend
Out of the Body, but ſtill uſe it there,
She hath a Pow'r which ſhe *abroad* doth ſend,
Which views and ſearcheth all Things ev'ry where.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

The Power of Senſe.

THIS Pow'r is Senſe, which from abroad doth bring
The *Colour*, *Taſte*, and *Touch*, and *Scent*, and (*Sound*,
The *Quantity* and *Shape* of ev'ry thing
Within Earth's Centre, or Heav'n's Circle found.

This Pow'r, in Parts made fit, fit Objects takes;
Yet not the Things, but *Forms* of Things receives;
As when a Seal in Wax Impreſſion makes,
The Print therein, but not it ſelf it leaves.

And tho' Things *ſenſible* be numberleſs,
But only Five the *Senſe's* Organs be;
And in thoſe Five, all Things their Forms expreſs,
Which we can *touch*, *taſte*, *feel*, or *hear*, or *ſee*.

Theſe are the Windows, thro' the which ſhe views
The *Light of Knowledge*, which is Life's Load-ſtar:
And yet while ſhe theſe Spectacles doth uſe,
" Oft worldly Things ſeem greater than they are.

SECT. XIV.

Seeing.

First, The two *Eyes*, which have the *Seeing* Pow'r,
Stand as one Watchman, Spy or Sentinel,
Being plac'd aloft, within the Head's high Tow'r;
And tho' both see, yet both but one Thing tell.

These Mirrors take into their little space,
The Forms of *Moon* and *Sun*, and ev'ry *Star*,
Of ev'ry Body, and of ev'ry Place,
Which with the World's wide Arms embraced are:

Yet their best Object, and their noblest Use,
Hereafter in another World will be,
When GOD in them shall heav'nly Light infuse,
That Face to Face they may their *Maker* see.

Here are they Guides, which do the Body lead,
Which else wou'd stumble in Eternal Night:
Here in this World they do much Knowledge *read*,
And are the Casements which admit most Light:

They are her farthest reaching Instrument,
Yet they no Beams unto their Objects send;
But all the Rays are from their Objects sent,
And in the *Eyes* with pointed Angles end.

If th' Objects be far off, the Rays do meet
In a ſharp Point, and ſo Things ſeems but ſmall;
If they be near, their Rays do ſpread and fleet,
And make broad Points, that Things ſeem great withal.

Laſtly, nine Things to *Sight* required are;
The *Pow'r* to ſee, the *Light*, the *viſible* Thing,
Being not too *ſmall*, too *thin*, too *nigh*, too *far*,
Clear Space and *Time*, the Form diſtinct to bring.

Thus ſee we how the *Soul* doth uſe the Eyes,
As Inſtruments of her quick Pow'r of Sight;
Hence doth th' Arts *Optick*, and fair *Painting* riſe;
Painting, which doth all gentle Minds delight.

SECT. XV.

Hearing.

NOW let us hear how ſhe the *Ears* employs:
Their Office is, the troubled Air to take;
Which in their Mazes forms a Sound or Noiſe,
Whereof her ſelf doth true Diſtinction make.

Theſe Wickets of the *Soul* are plac'd on high,
Becauſe all Sounds do lightly mount aloft;
And that they may not pierce too *violently*,
They are *delay'd* with *Turns* and *Windings* oft.

For ſhould the Voice directly ſtrike the Brain,
It would aſtoniſh and confuſe it much;
Therefore theſe Plaits and Folds the Sound reſtrain,
That it the *Organ* may more *gently* touch.

As Streams, which with their winding Banks do play,
Stopp'd by their Creeks, run ſoftly thro' the Plain:
So in th' Ear's *Labyrinth* the Voice doth ſtray,
And doth with *eaſy* Motion touch the Brain.

This is the ſloweſt, yet the daintieſt *Senſe*;
For ev'n the *Ears* of ſuch as have no Skill,
Perceive a Diſcord, and conceive Offence;
And knowing not what's *Good*, yet find the *Ill*.

And tho' this *Senſe* firſt gentle Muſick found,
Her proper Object is *the Speech of Men*;
But that Speech chiefly which GOD's Heralds ſound,
When their Tongues utter what his Spirit did pen.

Our *Eyes* have Lids, our *Ears* ſtill ope we ſee,
Quickly to hear how ev'ry Tale is prov'd:
Our *Eyes* ſtill move, our *Ears* unmoved be;
That tho' we hear quick, we be not quickly mov'd.

Thus by the Organs of the *Eye* and *Ear*,
The *Soul* with Knowledge doth her ſelf endue:
" Thus ſhe her *Priſon* may with Pleaſure bear,
" Having ſuch *Proſpects*, all the World to view.

These *Conduit-pipes* of Knowledge feed the Mind,
But th' other three attend the Body ſtill;
For by their Services the *Soul* doth find,
What Things are to the Body good or ill.

SECT. XVI.

Taſte.

THE *Body*'s Life with Meats and Air is fed,
Therefore the *Soul* doth uſe the *Taſting* Pow'r
In Veins, which thro' the Tongue and Palate ſpread,
Diſtinguiſh ev'ry Reliſh, Sweet, and Sow'r.

This is the Body's *Nurſe*; but ſince Man's Wit
Found th' Art of *Cook'ry* to delight his *Senſe*,
More Bodies are conſum'd and kill'd with it,
Than with the Sword, Famine, or Peſtilence.

SECT. XVII.

Smelling.

NEXT, In the Noſtrils ſhe doth uſe the *Smell*:
As GOD the *Breath* of *Life* in them did give;
So makes he now this Pow'r in them to dwell,
To judge all Airs, whereby we *breathe* and *live*.

This *Senſe* is alſo Miſtreſs of an Art,
Which to ſoft People ſweet Perfumes doth ſell;
Tho' this dear Art doth little Good impart,
" Since they ſmell beſt, that do of nothing ſmell.

And yet good *Scents* do purify the Brain,
Awake the Fancy, and the Wits refine:
Hence old *Devotion Incenſe* did ordain,
To make Men's Sp'rits more apt for Thoughts Divine.

SECT. XVIII.

Feeling.

LAſtly, *The Feeling Pow'r*, which is Life's Root,
Thro' ev'ry living Part it ſelf doth ſhed,
By *Sinews*, which extend from Head to Foot;
And like a Net, all o'er the Body ſpread.

Much like a ſubtile Spider, which doth ſit
In middle of her Web, which ſpreadeth wide;
If ought do touch the utmoſt *Thread* of it,
She *feels* it inſtantly on ev'ry ſide.

By *Touch*, the firſt pure Qualities we learn,
Which quicken all Things, *hot*, *cold*, *moiſt* and *dry*:
By *Touch*, *hard*, *ſoft*, *rough*, *ſmooth*, we do diſcern.
By *Touch*, *ſweet Pleaſure*, and *ſharp Pain* we try.

SECT. XIX.

Of the Imagination, *or Common Senſe.*

THeſe are the outward Inſtruments of *Senſe*;
Theſe are the *Guards* which ev'ry Thing muſt (paſs,
E'er it approach the Mind's Intelligence,
Or touch the Fantaſy, *Wit's Looking-glaſs.*

And yet theſe Porters, which all Things admit,
Themſelves perceive not, nor diſcern the Things:
One *common* Pow'r doth in the *Forehead* ſit,
Which all their proper *Forms* together brings.

For all thoſe *Nerves*, which *Spirits of Senſe* do bear,
And to thoſe outward *Organs* ſpreading go,
United are, as in a *Centre*, there;
And there this *Pow'r* thoſe ſundry *Forms* doth know.

Thoſe outward Organs preſent Things receive,
This inward *Senſe* doth abſent Things retain;
Yet ſtrait tranſmits all Forms ſhe doth perceive,
Unto an higher Region of the *Brain.*

SECT. XX.

Fantaſy.

WHere *Fantaſy*, near *Hand-maid* to the Mind,
Sits, and beholds, and doth diſcern them all;
Compounds in one, Things diff'rent in their Kind;
Compares the Black and White, the Great and Small.

Beſides, thoſe ſingle Forms ſhe doth eſteem,
And in her Ballance doth their Values try;
Where ſome Things good, and ſome Things ill do ſeem,
And neutral ſome, in her *fantaſtick Eye.*

This buſy Pow'r is working Day and Night;
For when the outward *Senſes* Reſt do take,
A thouſand Dreams, fantaſtical and light,
With flutt'ring Wings, do keep her ſtill awake.

SECT. XXI.

Senſitive Memory.

YET always all may not afore her be;
Succeſſively ſhe This and That intends;
Therefore ſuch Forms as ſhe doth ceaſe to ſee,
To *Memory*'s large Volume ſhe commends.

This

This *Ledger-Book* lies in the Brain behind,
Like *Janus* Eye, which in his Poll was ſet:
The *Lay-man's Table, Store-houſe of the Mind*;
Which doth remember much, and much forget.

Here *Senſe's Apprehenſion* End doth take;
As when a Stone is into Water caſt,
One Circle doth another Circle make,
'Till the laſt Circle touch the Bank at laſt.

SECT. XXII.

The Paſſion of the Senſe.

BUT tho' the *Apprehenſive Pow'r* do pauſe,
The *Motive* Virtue then begins to move;
Which in the Heart below doth *Paſſions* cauſe,
Joy, Grief, and *Fear,* and *Hope,* and *Hate,* and *Love.*

Theſe Paſſions have a free commanding Might,
And divers Actions in our Life do breed;
For all Acts done without true *Reaſon's* Light,
Do from the *Paſſion* of the *Senſe* proceed.

But ſince the *Brain* doth lodge the Pow'rs of *Senſe,*
How makes it in the *Heart* thoſe Paſſions ſpring?
The mutual Love, the kind *Intelligence*
'Twixt *Heart* and *Brain,* this *Sympathy* doth bring.

From

From the kind Heat, which in the Heart doth reign,
The *Spirits* of Life do their beginning take;
Theſe *Spirits* of Life aſcending to the Brain,
When they come there, the *Spirits of Senſe* do make.

The *Spirits* of *Senſe*, in Fantaſy's high Court,
Judge of the Forms of *Objects*, ill or well,
And ſo they ſend a good or ill Report
Down to the *Heart*, where all *Affections* dwell.

If the Report be *good*, it cauſeth *Love*,
And longing *Hope*, and well aſſured *Joy*:
If it be *ill*, then doth it *Hatred* move,
And trembling *Fear*, and vexing *Griefs* annoy.

Yet were theſe natural Affections good,
(For they which want them, *Blocks* or *Devils* be)
If *Reaſon* in her firſt Perfection ſtood,
That ſhe might *Nature*'s Paſſions rectify.

SECT. XXIII

Local Motion.

BEſides, another *Motive*-Power doth ariſe
Out of the Heart, from whoſe pure Blood do ſpring
The *Vital Spirits*; which born in *Arteries*,
Continual Motion to all Parts do bring.

This

This makes the Pulſes beat, and Lungs reſpire:
This holds the Sinews like a Bridle's Reins:
And makes the Body to advance, retire,
To turn or ſtop as ſhe them ſlacks, or ſtrains.

Thus the *Soul* tunes the *Body's* Inſtruments,
Theſe Harmonies ſhe makes with *Life* and *Senſe*;
The Organs fit are by the Body lent,
But th' *Actions* flow from the *Soul's* Influence.

SECT. XXIV.

The Intellectual *Powers of the* Soul.

BUT *now* I have a *Will*, yet want a *Wit*,
T' expreſs the working of the *Wit* and *Will*;
Which, tho' their *Root* be to the Body knit,
Uſe not the Body, when they uſe their *Skill*.

Theſe Pow'rs the Nature of the *Soul declare*,
For to Man's *Soul* theſe only proper be;
For on the Earth no other Wights there are,
That have theſe Heav'nly Pow'rs, but only we.

SECT. XXV.

Wit, Reaſon, Underſtanding, Opinion, Judgment, Wiſdom.

THE *Wit*, the Pupil of the *Soul's* clear Eye,
And in Man's World, the only ſhining *Star*,
Look in the *Mirror* of the *Fantaſy*,
Where all the *Gath'rings* of the *Senſes* are.

From thence this *Pow'r* the *Shapes* of things abſtracts,
And them within her *Paſſive Part* receives,
Which are enlightned by that Part which Acts;
And ſo the *Forms* of ſingle Things perceives.

But after, by diſcourſing to and fro,
Anticipating, and comparing Things,
She doth all *Univerſal* Natures know,
And all *Effects* into their *Cauſes* brings.

When ſhe *rates* Things, and moves from Ground to Ground,
The Name of *Reaſon* ſhe obtains by this:
But when by Reaſon ſhe the Truth hath found,
And *ſtandeth fix'd*, ſhe *Underſtanding* is.

When her Aſſent ſhe *lightly* doth incline
To either Part, ſhe has *Opinion's Light*:
But when ſhe doth by Principles define
A certain *Truth*, ſhe hath *true Judgment's* Sight.

And

And as from *Senſes, Reaſon*'s Work doth ſpring,
So many *Reaſons Underſtanding* gain;
And many *Underſtandings Knowledge* bring,
And by much *Knowledge, Wiſdom* we obtain.

So, many Stairs we muſt aſcend upright,
E're we attain to *Wiſdom*'s high Degree:
So doth this Earth eclipſe our Reaſon's Light,
Which elſe (in Inſtants) would like Angels ſee.

SECT. XXVI.

Innate Ideas in the SOUL.

YET hath the *Soul* a Dowry natural,
And *Sparks of Light*, ſome common Things to ſee;
Not being a Blank where Nought is writ at all,
But what the Writer will, may written be.

For Nature in Man's Heart her Laws doth pen,
Preſcribing *Truth* to *Wit*, and *Good* to *Will*;
Which do *accuſe*, or elſe *excuſe* all Men,
For ev'ry Thought or Practice, good or ill:

And yet theſe Sparks grow almoſt infinite,
Making the World, and all therein, their Food;
As Fire ſo ſpreads, as no Place holdeth it,
Being nouriſh'd ſtill with new *Supplies* of Wood.

And

nd tho' theſe Sparks were almoſt quench'd with Sin,
Yet they whom that *juſt One* hath juſtify'd,
lave them increas'd with heav'nly Light within;
And like the *Widow's Oil*, ſtill *multiply'd*.

SECT. XXVII.

he Power of Will, *and Relation between the* Wit *and* Will.

AND as this *Wit* ſhould *Goodneſs* truly know,
We have a *Will*, which that true Good ſhould
ho' *Will* do oft (when *Wit* falſe Forms doth ſhow) (chuſe,
Take *Ill* for *Good*, and *Good* for *Ill* refuſe.

Vill puts in practice what the *Wit* deviſeth:
Will ever acts, and *Wit* contemplates ſtill:
nd as from *Wit*, the Pow'r of *Wiſdom* riſeth,
All other Virtues Daughters are of *Will*.

Vill is the *Prince*, and *Wit* the *Counſellor*,
Which doth for *common Good* in Council ſit;
nd when *Wit* is reſolv'd, *Will* lends her Pow'r
To execute what is adviſ'd by *Wit*.

Wit is the Mind's chief Judge, which doth controul
Of *Fancy*'s Court the Judgments falſe and vain:
Will holds the Royal Sceptre in the *Soul*,
And on the *Paſſions* of the Heart doth reign.

Will

Will is as free as any *Emperor*,
Nought can reſtrain her *gentle* Liberty:
No Tyrant, nor no Torment hath the Pow'r
To make us *Will*, when we unwilling be.

SECT. XXVIII.

The Intellectual Memory.

TO theſe high Pow'rs a *Store-houſe* doth pertain,
Where they all Arts, and *gen'ral* Reaſons lay;
Which in the *Soul*, ev'n after *Death*, remain,
And no *Lethæan* Flood can waſh away.

SECT. XXIX.

The Dependency *of the* SOUL's Faculties *on each other.*

THIS is the *Soul*, and theſe her *Vertues* be;
Which, tho' they have their ſundry proper Ends,
And one exceeds another in *Degree*,
Yet each *on other* mutually depends.

Our Wit is giv'n, *Almighty* GOD to *know*;
Our *Will* is giv'n to *love* him, being *known*:
But GOD could not be *known* by us below,
But by his *Works*, which thro' the Senſe are ſhown.

And as the *Wit* doth reap the Fruits of *Senſe*,
So doth the *quick'ning* Pow'r the *Senſes feed:*
Thus while they do their ſundry Gifts diſpenſe,
" The Beſt the Service of the Leaſt doth need.

Ev'n ſo the King his Magiſtrates do ſerve,
Yet Commons feed both Magiſtrates and King:
The Common's Peace the Magiſtrates preſerve,
By borrow'd Pow'r, which from the Prince doth ſpring.

The *quick'ning Pow'r* wou'd *be*, and ſo would reſt;
The *Senſe* would not *be* only, but *be well:*
But *Wit's* Ambition longeth to the beſt,
For it deſires in *endleſs* Bliſs to dwell.

And theſe three Pow'rs, three Sorts of Men do make;
For ſome, like Plants, their Veins do only fill;
And ſome, like Beaſts, their Senſes Pleaſure take;
And ſome, like Angels, do contemplate ſtill.

Therefore the Fables turn'd ſome Men to Flow'rs,
And others did with brutiſh Forms inveſt,
And did of others make Celeſtial Pow'rs,
Like Angels, which ſtill travel, yet ſtill reſt.

Yet theſe Three Pow'rs are not Three *Souls*, but One;
As One and Two are both contain'd in *Three*;
Three b'ing one Number by it ſelf alone,
A Shadow of the bleſſed Trinity.

Oh!

Oh! *What* is Man (great Maker of Mankind!)
That thou to him ſo great Reſpect doſt bear!
That thou adorn'ſt him with ſo bright a Mind,
Mak'ſt him a King, and ev'n an Angel's Peer!

Oh! What a lively Life, what heav'nly Pow'r,
What ſpreading Virtue, what a ſparkling Fire,
How great, how plentiful, how rich a Dow'r
Doſt thou within this dying Fleſh inſpire!

Thou leav'ſt thy Print in other Works of thine;
But thy whole Image thou in Man haſt writ:
There cannot be a Creature more divine,
Except (like thee) it ſhould be infinite.

But it exceeds Man's Thought, to think how high
GOD hath rais'd *Man*: ſince GOD a *Man* became:
The Angels do admire this *Myſtery*,
And are aſtoniſh'd when they view the ſame.

Nor hath he giv'n theſe bleſſings for a day,
Nor made them on the Body's Life depend;
The *Soul*, tho' made in Time, *ſurvives for ay*!
And tho' it hath Beginning, ſees no End.

SECT.

SECT. XXX.

That the SOUL *is* Immortal, *proved by ſeveral Reaſons.*

HER only *End*, is *Never-ending* Bliſs;
Which is, *the Eternal Face of* GOD *to ſee*;
Who, *Laſt of Ends*, and *Firſt of Cauſes is:*
And to do this, ſhe muſt *Eternal* be.

How ſenſeleſs then, and dead a *Soul* hath he,
Which *thinks* his *Soul* doth with his Body dye:
Or *thinks* not ſo, but ſo would have it be,
That he might ſin with more Security?

For tho' theſe light and vicious Perſons ſay,
Our *Soul* is but a Smoak, or airy Blaſt,
Which, during Life, doth in her Noſtrils play,
And when we die, doth turn to Wind at laſt:

Altho' they ſay, *Come, let us eat and drink?*
Our Life is but a Spark, which quickly dies:
Tho' thus they *ſay*, they know not what to *think*;
But in their Minds ten Thouſand Doubts ariſe.

There-

Therefore no Hereticks deſire to ſpread
Their light Opinions, like theſe *Epicures*;
For ſo their ſtagg'ring Thoughts are comforted,
And other Mens Aſſent their Doubt aſſures.

Yet tho' theſe Men againſt their Conſcience ſtrive,
There are ſome Sparkles in their flinty Breaſts:
Which cannot be extinct, but ſtill revive;
That tho' they would, they cannot quite be *Beaſts*.

But whoſo makes a Mirror of his Mind,
And doth with Patience view himſelf therein,
His *Soul*'s Eternity ſhall clearly find,
Tho' th' other Beauties be defac'd with Sin.

REASON I.

Firſt, in Man's Mind we find an Appetite
To *learn* and *know the Truth* of ev'ry thing,
Which is co-natural, and born with it,
And from the *Eſſence* of the *Soul* doth ſpring.

With this *Deſire*, ſhe hath a native *Might*
To find out ev'ry Truth, if ſhe had Time;
Th' innumerable Effects to ſort aright,
And by Degrees, from Cauſe to Cauſe to climb.

But ſince our Life ſo faſt away doth ſlide,
As doth an hungry Eagle thro' the Wind;
Or as a Ship tranſported with the Tide,
Which in their Paſſage leave no Print behind:

Of

which ſwift little Time ſo much we ſpend,
While ſome few Things we thro' the Senſe do ſtrain,
hat our ſhort Race of Life is at an End,
E're we the Principles of Skill attain.

GOD (who to vain Ends hath nothing done)
In vain this *Appetite* and *Pow'r* hath giv'n;
elſe our Knowledge, which is here begun,
Hereafter muſt be perfected in Heav'n.

OD never gave a *Pow'r* to one whole Kind,
But moſt Part of that Kind did uſe the ſame:
oſt Eyes have perfect Sight, tho' ſome be blind;
Moſt Legs can nimbly run, tho' ſome be lame.

t in this Life no *Soul* the Truth can know
So perfectly as it hath Pow'r to do:
then Perfection be not found below,
An higher Place muſt make her mount thereto.

REASON 2.

gain, how can ſhe but Immortal be,
When with the Motions of both *Will* and *Wit*,
he ſtill aſpireth to Eternity,
And never reſts, till ſhe attains to it?

Water in Conduit-Pipes can riſe no higher
Than the Well-Head from whence it firſt doth ſpring:
Then ſince to Eternal GOD ſhe doth aſpire,
She cannot but be an Eternal Thing.

" All

" All moving Things to other Things do move,
" Of the ſame Kind, which ſhews their Nature ſu
So *Earth* falls down, and *Fire* doth mount above,
Till both their proper Elements do touch.

And as the Moiſture, which the thirſty Earth
Sucks from the Sea, to fill her empty Veins,
From out her Womb at laſt doth take a Birth,
And runs a *Nymph* along the graſſy Plains:

Long doth ſhe ſtay, as loth to leave the Land,
From whoſe ſoft Side ſhe firſt did iſſue make:
She taſtes all Places, turns to ev'ry Hand,
Her flow'ry Banks unwilling to forſake:

Yet *Nature* ſo her Streams doth lead and carry,
As that her Courſe doth make no final ſtay,
Till ſhe her ſelf, unto the Ocean marry,
Within whoſe watry Boſom firſt ſhe lay.

Ev'n ſo the *Soul*, within this Earthly Mould
The Spirit of GOD doth ſecretly infuſe,
Becauſe at firſt ſhe doth the Earth behold,
And only this material World ſhe views:

At firſt her *Mother-Earth* ſhe holdeth dear,
And doth embrace the World, and worldly Things:
She flies cloſe by the Ground, and hovers here,
And mounts not up with her Celeſtial Wings:

Yet under Heaven ſhe cannot light on ought,
That with her heav'nly *Nature* doth agree;
She cannot reſt, ſhe cannot fix her Thought,
She cannot in this World contented be.

For who did ever yet, in *Honour*, *Wealth*,
Or *Pleaſure of the Senſe*, Contentment find?
Who ever ceas'd to wiſh, when he had *Health*?
Or having *Wiſdom*, was not vex'd in Mind?

Then as a *Bee*, which among Weeds doth fall,
Which ſeem ſweet Flow'rs, with Luſtre freſh and gay,
She lights on that, and this, and taſteth all;
But pleas'd with none, doth riſe, and ſoar away.

So, when the *Soul* finds here no true Content,
And, like *Noah*'s Dove, can no ſure Footing take,
She doth return from whence ſhe firſt was ſent,
And flies to *him* that firſt her Wings did make.

Wit, ſeeing *Truth*, from Cauſe to Cauſe aſcends,
And never reſts, till it the *firſt* attain:
Will, ſeeking *Good*, finds many middle Ends;
But never ſtays, till it the *laſt* do gain.

Now GOD the *Truth*, and *Firſt of Cauſes is*;
GOD is the *laſt good End*, which laſteth ſtill;
Being *Alpha* and *Omega* nam'd for this;
Alpha to *Wit*, *Omega* to the *Will*.

Since then her heav'nly Kind ſhe doth diſplay,
In that to GOD ſhe doth directly move;
And on no mortal Thing can make her Stay,
She cannot be from hence, but from *above.*

And yet this *firſt true Cauſe,* and *laſt good End,*
She cannot here ſo *well,* and *truly* ſee;
For this Perfection ſhe muſt yet attend,
'Till to her *Maker* ſhe eſpouſed be.

As a *King*'s Daughter, being in Perſon ſought
Of divers Princes, who do neighbour near,
On none of them can fix a conſtant Thought,
Tho' ſhe to all do lend a gentle Ear:

Yet can ſhe love a foreign *Emperor,*
Whom of great Worth and Pow'r ſhe hears to be,
If ſhe be woo'd but by *Ambaſſador,*
Or but his *Letters,* or his *Pictures* ſee:

For well ſhe knows, that when ſhe ſhall be brought
Into the *Kingdom* where her Spouſe doth reign;
Her Eyes ſhall ſee what ſhe conceiv'd in Thought,
Himſelf, his State, his Glory, and his Train.

So while the *Virgin-Soul* on *Earth* doth ſtay,
She woo'd and tempted is ten thouſand Ways,
By theſe great Pow'rs, which on the Earth bear Sway,
The *Wiſdom of the World, Wealth, Pleaſure, Praiſe:*

With

With theſe ſometimes ſhe doth her Time beguile,
  Theſe do by Fits her Fantaſie poſſeſs;
But ſhe diſtaſtes them all within a while,
  And in the ſweeteſt finds a Tediouſneſs.

But if upon the World's Almighty King
  She once doth fix her humble loving Thought,
Who by his *Picture* drawn in ev'ry Thing,
  And *ſacred Meſſages*, her *Love* hath ſought;

Of him ſhe thinks ſhe cannot think too much;
  This Honey taſted, ſtill is ever ſweet;
The Pleaſure of her raviſh'd Thought is ſuch,
  As almoſt here ſhe with her Bliſs doth meet:

But when in Heav'n ſhe ſhall his *Eſſence* ſee,
  This is her *ſov'reign Good*, and *perfect Bliſs*;
Her Longings, Wiſhings, Hopes, all finiſh'd be;
  Her Joys are full, her Motions reſt in this:

There is ſhe crown'd with Garlands of *Content*;
  There doth ſhe Manna eat, and Nectar drink:
That Preſence doth ſuch high Delights preſent,
  As never Tongue could ſpeak, nor Heart could think.

REASON 3.

For *this*, the better *Souls* do oft deſpiſe
  The Body's Death, and do it oft deſire;
For when on Ground the burden'd Ballance lies,
  The empty Part is lifted up the higher.

But if the Body's Death the *Soul* ſhould kill,
Then Death muſt needs *againſt her Nature* be;
And were it ſo, all *Souls* would fly it ſtill,
For Nature hates and ſhuns her Contrary.

For all Things elſe, which Nature makes to be,
Their *Being* to preſerve, are chiefly taught;
And tho' ſome Things deſire a Change to ſee,
Yet never Thing did long to turn to nought.

If then by Death the *Soul* were quenched quite,
She could not thus againſt her Nature run;
Since ev'ry ſenſeleſs Thing, by Nature's Light,
Doth Preſervation ſeek, Deſtruction ſhun.

Nor could the World's beſt Spirits ſo much err,
If Death took all, that they ſhould all agree,
Before this Life, their *Honour* to prefer:
For what is Praiſe to Things that nothing be?

Again, if by the Body's Prop ſhe ſtand;
If on the Body's Life, her Life depend,
As *Meleagers* on the fatal Brand,
The Body's Good ſhe only would intend:

We ſhould not find her half ſo brave and bold,
To lead it to the Wars, and to the Seas,
To make it ſuffer Watchings, Hunger, Cold,
When it might feed with Plenty, reſt with Eaſe.

Doub

Doubtleſs all *Souls* have a ſurviving Thought,
Therefore of Death we think with quiet Mind;
But if we think of being *turn'd to Nought*,
A trembling Horror in our *Souls* we find.

REASON 4.

And as the better Spirit, when ſhe doth bear
A Scorn of Death, doth ſhew ſhe cannot die:
So when the wicked *Soul* Death's Face doth fear,
Ev'n then ſhe proves her own Eternity.

For when Death's Form appears, ſhe feareth not
An utter quenching, or Extinguiſhment;
She would be glad to meet with ſuch a Lot,
That ſo ſhe might all future Ill prevent.

But ſhe doth doubt what after may befal;
For Nature's Law accuſeth her within,
And ſaith, 'Tis true what is affirm'd by all,
That after Death there is a Pain for Sin.

Then ſhe who hath been hood-wink'd from her Birth,
Doth firſt her-ſelf within Death's Mirrour ſee;
And when her Body doth return to Earth,
She firſt takes Care, how ſhe alone ſhall be.

Who ever ſees thoſe irreligious Men,
With Burthen of a Sickneſs weak and faint,
But hears them talking of Religion then,
And vowing of their *Souls* to ev'ry Saint?

When was there ever curſed *Atheiſt* brought
Unto the *Gibbet*, but he did adore
That bleſſed Pow'r, which he had ſet at nought,
Scorn'd and blaſphemed all his Life before?

Theſe light vain Perſons ſtill are drunk and mad,
With Surfeitings, and Pleaſures of their Youth;
But at their Death they are freſh, ſober, ſad;
Then they diſcern, and then they ſpeak the Truth.

If then all *Souls*, both good and bad, do teach,
With gen'ral Voice, That *Souls* can never die;
'Tis not Man's flatt'ring Gloſs, but *Nature's Speech*,
Which, like GOD's Oracles, can never lye.

REASON 5.

Hence ſprings that univerſal ſtrong Deſire,
Which all Men have of Immortality:
Not ſome few Spirits unto this Thought aſpire,
But all Men's Minds in this united be.

Then this Deſire of Nature is not vain,
" She covets not Impoſſibilities;
" Fond Thoughts may fall into ſome idle Brain,
" But one *Aſſent* of all is ever wiſe.

From hence that gen'ral Care and Study ſprings,
That *Launching*, and *Progreſſion of the Mind*,
Which all Men have ſo much of future Things,
That they no Joy do in the Preſent find.

From

From this Deſire, that main Deſire proceeds,
Which all Men have ſurviving Fame to gain,
By *Tombs*, by *Books*, by memorable *Deeds*;
For ſhe that this deſires, doth ſtill remain.

Hence, laſtly, ſprings Care of Poſterities,
For Things their Kind would everlaſting make:
Hence is it, that old Men do plant young Trees,
The Fruit whereof another Age ſhall take.

If we theſe Rules unto our ſelves apply,
And view them by Reflection of the Mind,
All theſe true Notes of Immortality,
In our *Hearts Tables* we ſhall written find.

REASON 6.

And tho' ſome impious Wits do Queſtions move,
And doubt if *Souls* immortal be, or no;
That *Doubt* their Immortality doth prove,
Becauſe they ſeem immortal Things to know.

For he who Reaſons on both Parts doth bring,
Doth ſome Things mortal, ſome immortal call;
Now, if himſelf were but a mortal Thing,
He cou'd not judge immortal Things at all.

For when we judge, our Minds we Mirrours make;
And as thoſe Glaſſes which material be,
Forms of material Things do only take;
For *Thoughts* or *Minds* in them we cannot ſee:

So when we GOD and Angels do conceive,
And think of *Truth* which is eternal too;
Then do our Minds immortal Forms receive,
Which if they mortal were, they could not do.

And as if Beasts conceiv'd what Reason were,
And that Conception shou'd distinctly shew,
They should the Name of *Reasonable* bear;
For without *Reason* none cou'd *Reason* know:

So when the *Soul* mounts with so high a Wing,
As of Eternal Things she Doubts can move;
She Proofs of her Eternity doth bring,
Ev'n when she strives the contrary to prove.

For ev'n the *Thought* of Immortality,
Being an Act done without the Body's Aid,
Shews, that her self alone could move and be,
Altho' the Body in the Grave were laid.

SECT. XXXI.

That the SOUL *cannot be* destroyed.

AND if her self she can so lively move,
And never need a foreign Help to take;
Then must her Motion everlasting prove,
" Because her self she never can forsake.

But tho' Corruption cannot touch the Mind
By any Cauſe that from it ſelf may ſpring,
Some outward Cauſe Fate hath perhaps deſign'd,
Which to the Soul may utter quenching bring.

Perhaps her Cauſe may ceaſe, and ſhe may die:
GOD is her *Cauſe*, his *Word* her Maker was;
Which ſhall ſtand fix'd for all Eternity,
When Heav'n and Earth ſhall like a Shadow paſs.

Perhaps ſome Thing repugnant to her Kind,
By ſtrong *Antipathy*, the *Soul* may kill:
But what can be *Contrary* to the Mind,
Which holds all *Contraries* in Concord ſtill?

She lodgeth Heat, and Cold, and Moiſt, and Dry,
And Life, and Death, and Peace, and War together;
Ten Thouſand fighting Things in her do lie,
Yet neither troubleth, or diſturbeth either.

Perhaps for want of Food the *Soul* may pine;
But that were ſtrange, ſince all Things *bad* and *good*,
Since all GOD's Creatures, *Mortal* and *Divine*,
Since GOD *himſelf* is her eternal Food.

Bodies are fed with Things of mortal Kind,
And ſo are ſubject to Mortality:
But *Truth*, which is eternal, feeds the Mind;
The *Tree of Life*, which will not let her die.

Yet Violence perhaps the *Soul* deſtroys,
As Lightning, or the Sun-beams dim the Sight;
Or as a Thunder-clap, or Cannon's Noiſe,
The Pow'r of Hearing doth aſtoniſh quite;

But high Perfection to the *Soul* it brings,
T' encounter Things moſt excellent and high;
For, when ſhe views the beſt and greateſt Things,
They do not hurt, but rather clear the Eye.

Beſides, as *Homer*'s *Gods*, 'gainſt Armies ſtand,
Her ſubtle Form can thro' all Dangers ſlide,
Bodies are Captive, Minds endure no Band;
" And Will is free, and can no Force abide.

But laſtly, Time perhaps at laſt hath Pow'r
To ſpend her lively Pow'rs, and quench her Light;
But old God *Saturn*, which doth all devour,
Doth cheriſh her, and ſtill augment her Might.

Heav'n waxeth old, and all the *Spheres* above
Shall one Day faint, and their ſwift Motion ſtay;
And *Time* it ſelf, in time ſhall ceaſe to move;
Only the Soul ſurvives, and lives for ay.

" Our Bodies, ev'ry Footſtep that they make,
" March towards Death, until at laſt they dye:
" Whether we work, or play, or ſleep, or wake,
" Our Life doth paſs, and with *Time*'s Wings doth fly?

But

But to the *Soul*, Time doth Perfection give,
And adds freſh Luſtre to her Beauty ſtill;
And makes her in eternal Youth to live,
Like her which Nectar to the Gods doth fill.

The more ſhe lives, the more ſhe feeds on *Truth*;
The more ſhe feeds, her *Strength* doth more increaſe:
And what is *Strength*, but an Effect of *Youth*,
Which if *Time* nurſe, how can it ever ceaſe?

SECT. XXXIII.

Objections *againſt the* Immortality *of the* SOUL, *with their reſpective* Anſwers.

BUT *now* theſe *Epicures* begin to ſmile,
And ſay, My Doctrine is more ſafe than true;
And that I fondly do my ſelf beguile,
While theſe receiv'd Opinions I enſue.

For, what, ſay they? Doth not the *Soul* wax old?
How comes it then that aged Men do dote?
And that their Brains grow ſottiſh, dull, and cold,
Which were in Youth the only Spirits of Note?

What? Are not *Souls* within themſelves corrupted!
How can there Idiots then by Nature be?
How is it that ſome Wits are interrupted,
That now they dazzl'd are, now clearly ſee?

Theſe

Theſe Queſtions make a ſubtle Argument,
To ſuch as think both *Senſe* and *Reaſon* One;
To whom nor Agent, from the Inſtrument,
Nor Pow'r of Working, from the Work is known.

But they that know that Wit can ſhew no Skill,
But when ſhe Things in *Senſe's Glaſs* doth view,
Do know, if Accident this Glaſs do ſpill,
It *nothing ſees*, or *ſees the falſe for true*.

For, if that Region of the tender Brain,
Where th'inward Senſe of Fantaſy ſhould ſit,
And th' outward Senſes, Gath'rings ſhould retain;
By Nature, or by Chance, become unfit:

Either at firſt uncapable it is,
And ſo few Things, or none at all receives:
Or mar'd by Accident, which haps amiſs,
And ſo amiſs it ev'ry Thing perceives.

Then, as a cunning Prince that uſeth *Spies*,
If they return no News, doth nothing know;
But if they make Advertiſement of Lies,
The Prince's Councils all a wry do go:

Ev'n ſo the *Soul* to ſuch a Body knit,
Whoſe inward Senſes undiſpoſed be;
And to receive the Forms of Things unfit,
Where nothing is brought in, can nothing ſee.

This makes the Idiot, which hath yet a Mind,
Able to *know* the Truth, and *chuſe* the Good:
If ſhe ſuch Figures in the Brain did find,
As might be found, if it in Temper ſtood.

But if a *Phrenſy* do poſſeſs the Brain,
It ſo diſturbs and blots the Forms of Things,
As Fantaſy proves altogether vain,
And to the Wit no true relation brings.

Then doth the Wit, admitting all for true,
Build fond Concluſions on thoſe idle Grounds:
Then doth it fly the Good, and Ill purſue;
Believing all that this falſe *Spy* propounds.

But purge the Humours, and the Rage appeaſe,
Which this Diſtemper in the Fancy wrought;
Then ſhall the *Wit*, which never had Diſeaſe,
Diſcourſe, and judge diſcreetly, as it ought.

So, tho' the Clouds eclipſe the *Sun*'s fair Light,
Yet from his Face they do not take one Beam;
So have our Eyes their perfect Pow'r of Sight,
Ev'n when they look into a troubled Stream.

Then theſe Defects in *Senſe*'s Organs be;
Not in the *Soul*, or in her working Might:
She cannot loſe her perfect Pow'r to ſee,
Tho' Miſts and Clouds do choak her Window-Light.

Theſe

Theſe Imperfections then we muſt impute,
Not to the Agent, but the Inſtrument;
We muſt not blame *Apollo*, but his Lute,
If falſe Accords from her falſe Strings be ſent.

The *Soul* in all hath one Intelligence;
Tho' too much Moiſture in an Infant's Brain,
And too much Drineſs in an old Man's Senſe,
Cannot the Prints of outward Things retain.

Then doth the *Soul* want Work, and idle ſit,
And this we *Childiſhneſs* and *Dotage* call;
Yet hath ſhe then a quick and active Wit,
If ſhe had Stuff and Tools to work withal:

For, give her Organs fit, and Objects fair;
Give but the aged Man the young Man's Senſe;
Let but *Medea Æſon*'s Youth repair,
And ſtraight ſhe ſhews her wonted Excellence.

As a good Harper, ſtricken far in Years,
Into whoſe cunning Hands the Gout doth fall,
All his old Crotchets in his Brain he bears,
But on his Harp plays ill, or not at all.

But if *Apollo* takes his Gout away,
That he his nimble Fingers may apply;
Apollo's ſelf will envy at his Play,
And all the World applaud his Minſtralſy.

Then

Then *Dotage* is no Weakneſs of the Mind,
But of the *Senſe*; for if the Mind did waſte,
In all old Men we ſhould this waſting find,
When they ſome certain Term of Years had paſs'd:

But moſt of them, ev'n to their dying Hour,
Retain a Mind more lively, quick and ſtrong;
And better uſe their underſtanding Pow'r, (young.
Than when their Brains were warm, and Limbs were

For, tho' the Body waſted be, and weak,
And tho' the Leaden Form of Earth it bears;
Yet when we hear that half-dead Body ſpeak,
We oft are raviſh'd to the heav'nly *Spheres*.

Yet ſay theſe Men, If all her Organs die,
Then hath the *Soul* no Pow'r her Pow'rs to uſe:
So, in a ſort, her Pow'rs extinct do lie,
When unto *Act* ſhe cannot them reduce.

And if her Pow'rs be dead, then what is ſhe?
For ſince from ev'ry Thing ſome *Pow'rs* do ſpring;
And from thoſe Pow'rs, ſome *Acts* proceeding be;
Then kill both *Pow'r* and *Act*, and kill the Thing.

Doubtleſs, the Body's Death, when once it dies,
The Inſtruments of Senſe and Life doth kill;
So that ſhe cannot uſe thoſe Faculties,
Altho' their Root reſt in her Subſtance ſtill.

But (as the Body living) *Wit* and *Will*
Can *judge* and *chuſe*, without the Body's Aid,
Tho' on ſuch Objects they are working ſtill,
As thro' the Body's Organs are convey'd:

So, when the Body ſerves her turn no more,
And all her *Senſes* are extinct and gone,
She can diſcourſe of what ſhe learn'd before,
In heav'nly Contemplations, all alone.

So, if one Man well on the Lute doth play,
And have good Horſemanſhip, and Learning Skill;
Tho' both his Lute and Horſe we take away,
Doth he not keep his former Learning ſtill?

He keeps it, doubtleſs, and can uſe it too;
And doth both th'other *Skills* in Pow'r retain;
And can of both the proper Actions do,
If with his Lute or Horſe he meet again.

So tho' the Inſtruments, (by which we live,
And view the World) the Body's Death do kill;
Yet with the Body they ſhall all revive,
And all their wonted Offices fulfil.

But how, till then, ſhall ſhe her ſelf imploy?
Her Spies are dead, which brought home News before
What ſhe hath got, and keeps, ſhe may enjoy,
But ſhe hath Means to underſtand no more.

Then what do thoſe poor *Souls*, which nothing get?
Or what do thoſe which get, and cannot keep?
Like Buckets bottomleſs, which all out-let,
Thoſe *Souls*, for want of Exerciſe, muſt ſleep.

See how Man's *Soul* againſt it ſelf doth ſtrive:
Why ſhould we not have other Means to know?
As Children while within the Womb they live,
Feed by the Navil: Here they feed not ſo.

Theſe Children, if they had ſome uſe of *Senſe*,
And ſhould by chance their Mother's Talking hear,
That in ſhort Time they ſhall come forth from thence,
Would fear their Birth, more than our Death we fear.

They would cry out, If we this Place ſhall leave,
Then ſhall we break our tender Navil-ſtrings:
How ſhall we then our Nouriſhment receive,
Since our ſweet Food no other Conduit brings?

And if a Man ſhould to theſe Babes reply,
That into this fair World they ſhall be brought,
Where they ſhall view the Earth, the Sea, the Sky,
The glorious Sun, and all that GOD hath wrought:

That there ten thouſand Dainties they ſhall meet,
Which by their Mouths they ſhall with Pleaſure take;
Which ſhall be cordial too, as well as ſweet;
And of their little Limbs, tall Bodies make:

This World they'd think a Fable, ev'n as we
Do think the *Story* of the *Golden Age*;
Or as ſome ſenſual Spirits 'mongſt us be,
Which hold the *World to come, a feigned Stage:*

Yet ſhall theſe Infants after find all true
Tho' then thereof they nothing could conceive:
As ſoon as they are born, the World they view,
And with their Mouths, the Nurſes Milk receive.

So when the *Soul* is born (for Death is nought
But the *Soul*'s Birth, and ſo we ſhould it call)
Ten thouſand Things ſhe ſees beyond her Thought;
And in an unknown Manner, knows them all.

Then doth ſhe ſee by Spectacles no more,
She hears not by Report of double Spies;
Her ſelf in Inſtants doth all things explore;
For each thing's preſent, and before her lies.

But ſtill this Crew with Queſtions me purſues:
If *Souls* deceas'd (ſay they) ſtill living be,
Why do they not return, to bring us News
Of that ſtrange World, where they ſuch Wonders ſee

Fond Men! If we believe that Men do live
Under the *Zenith* of both frozen *Poles*,
Tho' none come thence, Advertiſement to give,
Why bear we not the like Faith of our *Souls?*

The *Soul* hath here on Earth no more to do,
Than we have Buſineſs in our Mother's Womb:
What Child doth covet to return thereto,
Altho' all Children firſt from thence do come?

But as *Noah*'s Pigeon, which return'd no more,
Did ſhew, ſhe footing found, for all the Flood;
So when good *Souls*, departed thro' Death's Door,
Come not again, it ſhews their Dwelling good.

And doubtleſs, ſuch a *Soul* as up doth mount,
And doth appear before her Maker's Face,
Holds this vile World in ſuch a baſe Account,
As ſhe looks down and ſcorns this wretched Place.

But ſuch as are detruded down to Hell,
Either for Shame, they ſtill themſelves retire;
Or ty'd in Chains, they in cloſe Priſon dwell,
And cannot come, altho' they much deſire.

Well, well, ſay theſe vain Spirits, Thought vain it is
To think our *Souls* to Heav'n or Hell do go;
Politick Men have thought it not amiſs,
To ſpread this *Lye*, to make Men virtuous ſo.

Do you then think this *Moral Virtue* good?
I think you do, ev'n for your private Gain:
For Common-wealths by *Vertue* ever ſtood,
And common Good the private doth contain,

If

If then this *Vertue* you do love ſo well,
Have you no Means, her Practice to maintain;
But you this *Lye* muſt to the People tell,
That good *Souls* live in Joy, and Ill in Pain?

Muſt *Vertue* be preſerved by a *Lye?*
Vertue and *Truth* do ever beſt agree;
By this it ſeems to be a Verity,
Since the Effects ſo good and virtuous be.

For, as the Devil, the Father is of Lies,
So Vice and Miſchief do his Lies enſue:
Then this good Doctrine did not he deviſe;
But made this *Lye*, which ſaith, it is not true.

For, how can that be falſe, which ev'ry Tongue
Of ev'ry mortal Man affirms for true?
Which Truth hath in all Ages been ſo ſtrong,
As, Load-Stone-like, all Hearts it ever drew.

For, not the *Chriſtian*, or the *Jew* alone,
The *Perſian*, or the *Turk*, acknowledge this;
This Myſtery to the wild *Indian* known,
And to the *Canibal* and *Tartar* is.

This rich *Aſſyrian* Drug grows ev'ry where;
As common in the *North*, as in the *Eaſt:*
This Doctrine doth not enter by the *Ear*,
But of it ſelf is native in the Breaſt.

one that acknowledge GOD, or Providence,
Their *Souls* Eternity did ever doubt;
r all *Religion* takes Root from hence,
Which no poor naked Nation lives without.

r ſince the World for Man created was,
(For only Man the Uſe thereof doth know)
Man do periſh like a wither'd Graſs,
How doth GOD's Wiſdom order Things below?

nd if that Wiſdom ſtill wiſe Ends propound,
Why made he Man, of other Creatures, King;
When if he periſh here) there is not found
In all the World ſo poor and vile a Thing?

Death do quench us quite, we have great wrong,
Since for our Service all Things elſe were wrought;
hat *Daws*, and *Trees*, and *Rocks* ſhould laſt ſo long,
When we muſt in an Inſtant paſs to nought.

ut bleſs'd be that *Great Pow'r*, that hath us bleſs'd
With longer Life than Heav'n or Earth can have;
Which hath infus'd into her mortal Breaſt
Immortal Pow'rs not ſubject to the Grave.

or tho' the Soul do ſeem her Grave to bear,
And in this World is almoſt bury'd quick,
We have no Cauſe the Body's Death to fear;
For when the Shell is broke, out comes a Chick.

SECT.

SECT. XXXIII.

Three Kinds of Life *answerable to the Three* Powers *of the* Soul.

FOR *as* the *Soul's Essential Pow'rs* are Three;
The *quick'ning Pow'r*, the *Pow'r of Sense* and *Reason*;
Three kinds of Life to her designed be,
Which perfect these three Pow'rs in their due Season.

The first Life in the Mother's Womb is spent,
Where she her *Nursing Pow'r* doth only use;
Where, when she finds defect of Nourishment,
Sh' expells her Body, and this World she views.

This we call *Birth*; but if the Child could speak,
He *Death* would call it; and of Nature plain,
That she would thrust him out naked and weak,
And in his Passage pinch him with such Pain.

Yet out he comes, and in this World is plac'd,
Where all his *Senses* in Perfection be;
Where he finds Flow'rs to smell, and Fruits to taste,
And Sounds to hear, and sundry Forms to see.

When he hath pass'd some Time upon the Stage,
His *Reason* then a little seems to wake;
Which, tho' she spring when *Sense* doth fade with Age,
Yet can she here no perfect Practice make.

Then

en doth aſpiring *Soul* the Body leave,
Which we call *Death*; but were it known to all,
hat *Life* our *Souls* do by this *Death* receive,
Men would it *Birth*, or *Goal-Deliv'ry* call.

this third Life, Reaſon will be ſo bright,
As that her Spark will like the *Sun-Beams* ſhine,
d ſhall of GOD enjoy the real Sight,
Being ſtill increas'd by Influence divine.

SECT. XXXIV.

The CONCLUSION.

O *Ignorant* poor Man! what doſt thou bear,
Lock'd up within the Casket of thy Breaſt?
at Jewels, and what Riches haſt thou there?
What heav'nly Treaſure in ſo weak a Cheſt?

ok in thy *Soul*, and thou ſhalt *Beauties* find,
Like thoſe which drown'd *Narciſſus* in the Flood:
our and *Pleaſure* both are in thy Mind,
And all that in the World is counted *Good*.

ink of her Worth, and think that GOD did mean,
This worthy Mind ſhould worthy Things embrace:
t not her Beauties with thy Thoughts unclean,
Nor her diſhonour with thy Paſſion baſe.

Kill

Kill not her *quickning Pow'r* with Surfeitings;
Mar not her *Senſe* with Senſuality:
Caſt not her ſerious Wit on idle Things;
Make not her *Free-Will* Slave to Vanity.

And when thou think'ſt of her *Eternity*,
Think not that *Death* againſt our Nature is;
Think it a *Birth*: And when thou go'ſt to die,
Sing like a Swan, as if thou went'ſt to Bliſs.

And if thou, like a Child, didſt fear before,
B'ing in the dark, where thou didſt nothing ſee;
Now I have brought thee *Torch-Light*, fear no more;
Now when thou dy'ſt, thou canſt not hood-wink'd be

And thou, my *Soul*, which turn'ſt with curious Eye,
To view the Beams of thine own Form divine,
Know, that thou can'ſt know nothing perfectly,
While thou art clouded with this Fleſh of mine.

Take heed of *Over-weening*, and compare
Thy *Peacock*'s Feet with thy gay *Peacock*'s Train:
Study the beſt and higheſt Things that are,
But of thy ſelf an humble Thought retain.

Caſt down thy ſelf, and only ſtrive to raiſe
The Glory of thy Maker's ſacred Name:
Uſe all thy Pow'rs, that bleſſed Pow'r to praiſe,
Which gives thee Pow'r to *be*, and *uſe the ſame*.

F I N I S.

30 53 JUL

Hiſtorical Relations:

OR, A

DISCOVERY

Of the true CAUSES why

IRELAND

Was never entirely

SUBDUED,

NOR

Brought under OBEDIENCE of the Crown of *ENGLAND*, until the Beginning of the Reign of King JAMES the Firſt.

Dedicated to the KING by Sir *JOHN DAVIS*, Kt. His then Majeſty's Attorney-General of *IRELAND*.

Principis eſt Virtus Maxima, noſſe ſuos.

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BRITISH
50
53
JUL

TO THE

Right Honourable THE EARL OF *BARRYMORE.*

My LORD,

BEING thoroughly convinced of your *Lordſhip*'s concern for the Welfare of this Kingdom, by your Publick Behaviour, whenever your Voice in Parliament could in the leaſt contribute to its Intereſt; I think my ſelf obliged in Gratitude, to place your Name before a

most excellent Piece of History, written by that great Man, Sir *John Davis*, which indeed gives a truer Light into our Constitution, than any other Treatise extant, upon the same Subject. From hence the *Protestants* of this Nation may see the Reason, why they have been several Times, and unavoidably made almost equal Sufferers in every Rebellion; and by comparing the present State of this Kingdom with that of those Times, may have Reason to hope for such a Share of Liberty, as is due to the most loyal, and faithful Subjects; now that all Dangers to the State, and Plots against it, from the original Natives, are utterly impossible to succeed. For the *Irish* are now, in the same Condition with the *Jews*, no more a People; and as much disqualified to do any hurt, as a Body without Head and Arms. For which Reason, I do humbly presume, if an humble and impartial Representation of our Condition were laid before our most gracious Sovereign, by the *Lords* and *Commons* of this Kingdom, now assembled in Parliament, it is not in the least to

30 53 JUL

o be doubted, but he would be graci-
uſly pleaſed to have our Grievances
Redreſſed, by recommending us to the
Conſideration of his *Britiſh* Parliament,
who are humane, and willing enough
t all Times, to repeal any Acts of
heir own, whereby the meaneſt Colo-
y in *America* may ſuffer, upon proper
pplication made to them. If then
hey ſhew ſo much Regard to the Off-
ourings of the People from theſe re-
ote Parts of the World, have we not
ood Reaſon to hope for, at leaſt the
me Indulgence, if not a greater, who
e a People of ſuch Conſequence, ſo
early allied to the Subjects of *Eng-
nd*, in Religion, Laws, Deſcent, Si-
uation; and every other Circumſtance,
hich ſhould unite us, as Members of
he ſame Body, without Diſtinction. It
therefore natural to conclude, that
e might have the like Succeſs, upon
he like Application. But, my Lord, as
o Repreſentation hath yet been made
y you of the Nobility, and Gentry of
his Kingdom, his Majeſty and People
f *Great-Britain* are not obliged to
grant

grant Favours, which have not been y
ſued for; or to take off Burthens, whi
we rather ſeem willing to bear (as the
muſt imagine) becauſe they hear no
of our Complaints, at a proper Tim
and Place, and by Perſons of Diſtinctio
to carry them. All I dare venture
ſay upon an Occaſion ſo important,
to recommend to the Conſideration
your *Lordſhip*, and of ſuch as you c
influence, to think of ſome Method
whereby we may recover a little Li
to our Trade, and ſome Share of th
Preferments for the younger Sons
Gentlemen here, as they grow up
Years to be ripe for them, not only
natural Juſtice requires, but as a Rewa
of their Expences and Labour, at o
Univerſity; from which Place many
worthy young Gentleman ſallies fort
and may be a great Number of Yea
in the Church, before any one of the
(except by great Chance) can refu
himſelf the ſmalleſt Article of his Expe
ces.

M

DEDICATION.

My Lord, as I have had the Honour to Educate a Number of the young Nobility, and Gentry of this Kingdom, I cannot be juſtly cenſured, if I expreſs a kind of Paternal Concern, to ſee ſo many of them laid aſide, after paſſing their Studies in our *College*, with the cloſeſt Application, to qualify themſelves for the Service of their Religion, their King, and their Country, as if they had neither Head, nor Hands. And I cannot but again repeat my Grief, when I reflect upon the preſent Condition of my former *Greek Tragedians* (who acquitted themſelves with Applauſe before ſeveral good Judges from *England*, at ſeveral Times, among whom I have the Honour to name the learned Lord *Carteret)* when I now behold thoſe, who then ſhined in all the Pomp of Kings and Princes, no higher than Curates of forty Pounds a Year; and what is deplorable, likely to continue ſo, if the *Lords* and *Commons*, now in Parliament aſſembled, do not addreſs our moſt Gracious Sovereign in Behalf of thoſe young Gentlemen, and others

of

of the ſame Qualifications, Rank, and Quality, who, I am confident, would think it their greateſt Happineſs, to have an Opportunity of ſhewing their Skill, and Zeal in the Support of our Religion, the Service of His *Majeſty*, and conſequently the Intereſt of this Kingdom, whenſoever any Place of Honour, and Truſt, ſhall be conferred upon them.

If among other things, the great Services done by us for the *Proteſtant-Cauſe* in the late Revolution here, were laid before his Majeſty, and how far many of our brave Natives were afterwards engaged, to the frequent Hazard of their Lives, and the Diminution of their Fortunes here at home, during the long Wars in *Flanders*; and likewiſe in *Spain*, where your *Lordſhip* diſtinguiſhed your ſelf among many Dangers and Hardſhips, all which contributing greatly to the Power and Intereſt of *Great-Britain*, I am certain they could not reaſonably deny the Rewards due to ſo great Merit. And I am almoſt perſwaded, that no brave-hearted *Engliſh-man* would give his

his Vote againſt encouraging us, when e rightly conſiders, that a narrow Sea etween us, ought not to make ſo wide Difference.

This, my Lord, I believe no Perſon as more at Heart than your *Lordſhip*, nd therefore in the Name of all true atriots, I offer up my humble Petition or *poor Ireland*; at the ſame time, as in Duty bound, wiſhing your *Lordſhip*, and ll other true Friends to its Intereſt, both n *Church, and State*, Succeſs, and Hapineſs.

I remain, my Lord, with the higheſt Reſpect, Your *Lordſhip*'s

Moſt Obedient,

and Dutiful

Humble Servant,

Thomas Sheridan.

A DISCOVERY OF THE

True Causes why *IRELAND* was never entirely subdued, nor brought under Obedience of the Crown of *ENGLAND*, until the Beginning of the Reign of King *JAMES* the First.

DURING the time of my Service in *Ireland* (which began in the first Year of His Majesty's Reign) I have visited all the Provinces of that Kingdom, in sundry Journies and Circuits; wherein I have observed the good Temperature of the Air, the Fruitfulness of the Soil, the pleasant and commodious Seats for habitation, the safe and large Ports and Havens lying open for Traffick into all the Western Parts of the World; the long Inlets of many navigable Rivers, and so many

great Lakes, and fresh Ponds within the Land, (as the like are not to be seen in any part of *Europe*) the rich Fishings, and wild Fowl of all kinds; and lastly, the Bodies and Minds of the People, endued with extraordinary Abilities of Nature.

The Observation whereof hath bred in me some Curiosity to consider what were the true Causes why this Kingdom, whereof our Kings of *England* have born the Title of Sovereign Lords, for the space of 400 and odd Years (a Period of Time wherein divers great Monarchies have risen from Barbarism to Civility, and fallen again to Ruin) was not in all that space of Time, thoroughly subdued and reduced to Obedience of the Crown of *England*, altho' there hath been almost a continual War between the *English* and the *Irish*; and why the Manners of the meer *Irish* are so little alter'd since the Days of King *Henry* the Second, as appeareth by the Description made by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, (who lived and wrote in that time) albeit, there have been since that time so many *English* Colonies planted in *Ireland*, as that, if the People were numbred at this Day by the Poll, such as are descended of *English* Race would be found more in Number than the ancient Natives.

And truly upon Consideration of the Conduct and Passage of Affairs in former times, I find that the State of *England* ought to be cleared of an Imputation which a vulgar Error hath cast upon it in one Point; namely, *That* Ireland *long since might have been subdued and reduced to Civility, if some Statesmen in Policy had not thought it more fit to continue that Realm in Barbarism*. Doubtless, this vulgar Opinion (or Report) hath no true Ground, but did first arise either out of Ignorance, or out of Malice; for it will appear by that which shall hereafter be laid down in this Discourse, that ever since our Nation had any Footing in this Land, the State of *England* did earnestly desire, and did accordingly endeavour from time to time, to perfect the Conquest of this Kingdom; but that in every Age there were found such Impediments

and Defects in both Realms, as cauſed almoſt an Impoſſibility that Things ſhould have been otherwiſe than they were.

The Defects which hindred the Perfection of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, are of two kinds, and conſiſted, firſt, *in the faint Proſecution of the War*; and next, *In the looſeneſs of the Civil Government*. For the Husbandman muſt firſt break the Land before it be made capable of good Seed: and when it is thoroughly broken and manured, if he do not forthwith caſt good Seed into it, it will grow wild again, and bear nothing but Weeds. So a barbarous Country muſt be firſt broken by a War, before it will be capable of good Government; and when it is fully ſubdued and conquered, if it be not well planted and governed after the Conqueſt, it will oftentimes return to the former Barbariſm.

Touching the Carriage of the Martial Affairs, from the ſeventeenth Year of King *Henry* the Second, when the firſt Overture was made for the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, (I mean, the firſt after the *Norman* Conqueſt of *England*) until the Nine and-thirtieth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, when that Royal Army was ſent over to ſuppreſs *Tyrone*'s Rebellion, which made in the end an univerſal and abſolute Conqueſt of all the *Iriſhry*: It is moſt certain, that the *Engliſh* Forces ſent hither, or raiſed here from time to time, were ever too weak to ſubdue and maſter ſo many warlike Nations (or Septs) of the *Iriſh* as did poſſeſs this Iſland; and beſides their Weakneſs, they were ill paid, and worſe governed. And if at any time there came over an Army of competent Strength and Power, it did rather terrifie, than break and ſubdue this People, being ever broken and diſſolved by ſome one Accident or other, before the Perfection of the Conqueſt.

For, that I call a perfect Conqueſt of a Country, which doth reduce all the People thereof to the Condition of Subjects: and thoſe I call Subjects, which are govern'd by the ordinary Laws and Magiſtrates of the Sovereign. For though the Prince doth bear the Title of Sovereign Lord of an entire Country, (as our Kings did of all

Ireland) yet if there be two third parts of that Country wherein he cannot puniſh Treaſons, Murders, or Thefts, unleſs he ſend an Army to do it; if the Juriſdiction of his ordinary Courts of Juſtice doth not extend into thoſe Parts to protect the People from Wrong and Oppreſſion; if he have no certain Revenue, no Eſcheates or Forfeitures out of the ſame, I cannot juſtly ſay that ſuch a Country is wholly conquered.

Firſt then, that we may judge and diſcern whether the *Engliſh* Forces in *Ireland* were at any time of ſufficient Strength to make a full and final Conqueſt of that Land, let us ſee what extraordinary Armies have been tranſmitted out of *England* thither, and what ordinary Forces have been maintained there, and what Service they have performed from time to time, ſince the ſeventeenth Year of King of *Henry* the Second.

In that Year, *Mac Murugh* Lord of *Leinſter*, being oppreſſed by the Lords of *Meath* and *Conaught*, and expelled out of his Territory, moved King *Henry* the ſecond to invade *Ireland*, and made an Overture unto him for the obtaining of the Sovereign Lordſhip thereof: The King refuſed to undertake the War himſelf, to avoid the Charge (as King *Henry* the ſeventh refuſed to undertake the Diſcovery of the *Indies* for the ſame Cauſe) but he gave Licence by his Letters Patents, that ſuch of his Subjects might paſs over into *Ireland*, as would at their own Charge become Adventurers in that Enterprize.

So as the firſt Attempt to conquer this Kingdom was but an Adventure of a few private Gentlemen. *Fitz-Stephen* and *Fitz-Gerald* firſt brake the Ice, with a Party of three hundred and ninety Men: The Earl *Strongbow* followed them with twelve hundred more, whoſe good Succeſs upon the Sea-coaſts of *Leinſter* and *Munſter* drew over the King in Perſon the next Year after, *cum quingentibus Militibus*, as *Giraldus Cambrenſis* reporteth, who was preſent in *Ireland* at that time. Which, if they were but five hundred Soldiers, ſeemeth too ſmall a Train for ſo great a Prince. But admit they were five hundred Knights, yet becauſe in thoſe Days every Knight was not

not a Commander of a Regiment, or Company, but moſt of them ſerved as private Men, (ſometimes a hundred Knights under a Spear) as appeareth by the Liſts of the ancient Armies, we cannot conjecture his Army to have been ſo great, as might ſuffice to conquer all *Ireland*, being divided into ſo many Principalities, and having ſo many *Hydra's* Heads, as it had at that time.

For albeit, *Tacitus* in the Life of *Agricola* having ſubdued the greateſt Part of *Great-Britain*, did ſignify to the Senate of *Rome*, that he thought *Ireland* might alſo be conquered with one Legion, and a few Aids: I make no doubt, but that if he had attempted the Conqueſt thereof with a far greater Army, he would have found himſelf deceived in his Conjecture. *For, a barbarous Country is not ſo eaſily conquered as a Civil, whereof* Cæſar *had Experience in his Wars againſt the* Gaules, Germans, *and* Britains, *who were ſubdued to the* Roman *Empire, with far greater Difficulty than the rich Kingdoms of* Aſia. *And again, a Country poſſeſſed with many petty Lords and States, is not ſo ſoon brought under entirely, as an entire Kingdom governed by one Prince or Monarch. And therefore, the late King of* Spain *could ſooner win the Kingdom of* Portugal, *than reduce the States of the* Low-Countries.

But let us ſee the Succeſs of King *Henry* the ſecond: Doubtleſs his Expedition was ſuch, as he might have ſaid with *Cæſar, Veni, vidi, vici.* For, upon his firſt Arrival, his very Preſence, without drawing his Sword, prevailed ſo much, as all the petty Kings, or great Lords within *Leinſter, Conaught*, and *Munſter*, ſubmitted themſelves unto him; promiſing to pay him Tribute, and acknowledge him their Chief and Sovereign Lord. Beſides, the better to aſſure this inconſtant Sea-Nymph, who was ſo eaſily won, the Pope would needs give her unto him with a Ring, *Conjugio jungam ſtabili, propriamque dicabo.* But as the Conqueſt was but ſlight and ſuperficial, ſo the Pope's Donation, and the *Iriſh* Submiſſions, were but weak and fickle Aſſurances: For as the Pope had no more Intereſt in this Kingdom, than *He* which offered

fered to Chriſt all the Kingdoms of the Earth; ſo the *Iriſh* pretend, *That by their Law, a Taniſt might do no Act that might bind his Succeſſor.* But this was the beſt Aſſurance he could get from ſo many ſtrong Nations of People with ſo weak a Power: and yet he was ſo well pleaſed with this Title of the Lordſhip of *Ireland*, as he placed it in his Royal Stile, before the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*. And ſo being adverti ſed of ſome Stirs raiſed by his unnatural Sons in *England*, within five Months after his firſt Arrival, he departed out of *Ireland*, without ſtriking one Blow, or building one Caſtle, or planting one Garriſon among the *Iriſh*: neither left he behind him one true Subject more than thoſe he found there at his coming over, which were only the *Engliſh* Adventurers ſpoken of before, who had gained the Port Towns in *Leinſter* and *Munſter*; and poſſeſſed ſome Scopes of Land thereunto adjoyning, partly by *Strongbow*'s Alliance with the Lord of *Leinſter*, and partly by plain Invaſion and Conqueſt.

And this is that Conqueſt of King *Henry* the ſecond, ſo much ſpoken of by ſo many Writers; which, though it were in no other manner than is before expreſſed, yet is the entire Conqueſt of all *Ireland* attributed unto him.

But the Truth is, the Conqueſt of *Ireland* was made by piece and piece, by ſlow Steps and Degrees, and by ſeveral Attempts, in ſeveral Ages. There were ſundry Revolutions, as well of the *Engliſh* Fortunes, as of the *Iriſh*; ſometimes one prevailing, ſometimes the other; and it was never brought to a full Period till his Majeſty that now is, came to the Crown.

As for King *Henry* the ſecond, he was far from obtaining that Monarchy Royal, and true Sovereignty which his Majeſty (who now reigneth) hath over the *Iriſh*. For the *Iriſh* Lords did only promiſe to become Tributaries to King *Henry* the ſecond; and ſuch as pay only Tribute, though they be placed by *Bodin* in the firſt Degree of ſubjection, are not properly Subjects, but Sovereigns. For though they be leſs and inferior unto the Prince to whom they pay Tribute, yet they hold all other Points of Sovereignty; and having paid their Tribute, which they promiſed,

miſed, to have their Peace, they are quit of all other Duties, as the ſame *Bodin* writeth. And therefore, though King *Henry* the ſecond had the Title of Sovereign Lord over the *Iriſh*, yet did he not put thoſe things in Execution, which are the true Marks and Differences of Sovereignty.

For to give Laws unto a People, to inſtitute Magiſtrates and Officers over them, to puniſh and pardon Malefactors, to have the ſole Authority of making War and Peace, and the like, are the true Marks of Sovereignty; which King *Henry* the ſecond had not in the *Iriſh* Countries, but the *Iriſh* Lords did ſtill retain all theſe Prerogatives to themſelves.

For they governed their People by the *Brehon* Law, they made their own Magiſtrates and Officers, they pardoned and puniſh'd all Malefactors within their ſeveral Countries, they made War and Peace one with another without Controulment; and this they did, not only during the Reign of King *Henry* the ſecond, but afterwards in all Times, even until the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*: and it appeareth what manner of Subjects theſe *Iriſh* Lords were, by the Concord made between King *Henry* the ſecond, and *Roderick o Connor* the *Iriſh* King of *Conaught*, in the Year 1175, which is recorded by *Hoveden* in this Form: *Hic eſt finis & Concordia, inter Dominum Regem Angliæ, Henricum, filium Imperatricis, & Rodoricum Regem Conactæ, ſcilicet, quod Rex Angliæ conceſſit prædict' Roderico Ligeo homini ſuo, ut ſit Rex ſub eo paratus ad ſervitium ſuum, ut homo ſuus*, &c. And the Commiſſion whereby King *Henry* the ſecond made *William Fitz-Adelme* his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, hath this Direction; *Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Regibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, & omnibus fidelibus ſuis in Hibernia, Salutem.* Whereby it is manifeſt, that he gave thoſe *Iriſh* Lords the Title and Stile of Kings.

King *John* likewiſe did grant divers Charters to the King of *Conaught*; which remain in the Tower of *London*. And afterwards, in the time of King *Henry* the third, we find in the Tower a Grant made to the King of *Thomond* in theſe Words. *Rex Regi Toſmond ſalutem. Conceſſimus*

vobis terram Tosmond quam prius tenuistis, per firmam centum & triginta marcarum ; Tenendum de nobis usque ad ætatem nostram. And in the Pipe Rolls remaining in *Bermingham*'s Tower, in the Castle of *Dublin*, upon sundry Accounts of the Seneschal of *Ulster* (when that Earldom was in the King's Hands by reason of the Minority of the Earl) the Entry of all such Charges as were made upon *Oneale* for Rent-Beeves, or for Aids towards the Maintenance of the King's Wars, are in this Form: *Oneale Regulus*, 400 *vaccas pro arreragio reddit* ; *O Neale Regulus*, 100, li. *de Auxilio Domini Regis ad guerram suam in Wasconia sustinendam.* And in one Roll the 36th of *Henry* the third, *Oneale Rex*, 100. li. *de auxilio Domini Regis ad guerram suam in Wallia sustinendam.* Which seemed strange to me, that the King's Civil Officer shou'd give him that Stile upon Record, unless he meant it in that Sense as *Maximilian* the Emperor did, when speaking of his disobedient Subjects: *The Title* (said he) *of Rex Regum, doth more properly belong to me, than to any mortal Prince, for all my Subjects do live as Kings, they obey me in nothing, but do what they list.* And truly, in that sense these *Irish* Lords might not unfitly be term'd Kings. But to speak in proper terms, we must say with the *Latin* Poet, *Qui est Rex, Regnum maxime non habeat.* But touching these *Irish* Kings, I will add this Note out of an ancient Manuscript, the black Book of *Christ-Church* in *Dublin*, *Isti Reges non fuerunt ordinati solemnitate alicujus ordinis, nec unctionis Sacramento, nec jure hæreditario, vel aliqua proprietatis successione, sed vi & armis quilibet Regnum suum obtinuit* ; and therefore they had no just cause to complain, when a stronger King than themselves became a King and Lord over them. But let us return to our purpose, and see the Proceeding of the Martial Affairs.

King *Henry* the second being returned into *England*, gave the Lordship of *Ireland* (surnamed before that time *Sans Terre*) unto the Lord *John*, his youngest Son: And the Pope confirming that Gift, sent him a Crown of Peacocks Feathers (as Pope *Clement* the Eighth sent the Feather of a Phœnix, as he call'd it, to the Traitor *Tyrone*.) This young Prince, the King's Son, being but twelve

Years

Years of Age, with a Train of young Noblemen and Gentlemen, to the Number of 300. but not with any main Army, came over to take Poſſeſſion of his new Patrimony; and being arrived at *Waterford*, divers *Iriſh* Lords (who had ſubmitted themſelves to his Father) came to perform the like Duty to him: But that youthful Company uſing them with ſcorn, becauſe their Demeanours were but rude and barbarous, they went away much diſcontented, and raiſed a general Rebellion againſt him: whereby it was made manifeſt, that the *Submiſſion of the* Iriſh *Lords, and the Donation of the Pope, were but ſtender and weak Aſſurances for a Kingdom.*

Hereupon this young Lord was revoked, and Sir *John de Courcy* ſent over, not with the King's Army, but with a Company of Voluntaries, in Number Four hundred, or thereabout: With theſe he attempted the Conqueſt of *Ulſter*, and in four or five Encounters did ſo beat the *Iriſhry* of that Province, as that he gained the Maritime Coaſts thereof, from the *Boyne* to the *Banne*; and thereupon was made Earl of *Ulſter*. So as now the *Engliſh* had gotten good Footing in all the Provinces of *Ireland*: In the firſt three Provinces of *Leinſter*, *Munſter*, and *Conanght*, part by the Sword, and Part by Submiſſion and Alliance: And laſtly, in *Ulſter* by the Invaſion and Victories of Sir *John de Courcy*.

From this time forward, until the ſeventeenth Year of King *John* (which was a Space of more than thirty Years) there was no Army tranſmitted out of *England* to finiſh the Conqueſt. Howbeit in the mean time, the *Engliſh* Adventurers and Colonies already planted in *Ireland*, did win much Ground upon the *Iriſh*: Namely, the Earl *Strongbow*, having married the Daughter of *Mac Murrough*, in *Leinſter*, the *Lacies* in *Meath*; the *Geraldines*, and other Adventurers in *Munſter*; the *Audleys*, *Gernons*, *Clintons*, *Ruſſels*, and other Voluntaries of Sir *John de Courcy's* Retinue, in *Ulſter*; and the *Bourkes* (planted by *William Fitz-Adelme*) in *Conaught*. Yet were the *Engliſh* reputed but Part-Owners of *Ireland* at this time, as appeareth by the Commiſſion of the Pope's Legate

gate in the time of King *Richard* the Firſt, whereby he had Power to exerciſe his Juriſdiction in *Anglia, Wallia, ac illis Hiberniæ partibus, in quibus Johannes Moretonii Comes poteſtatem habet & dominium*, as it is recorded by *Mat. Paris*.

King *John*, in the twelfth Year of his Reign, came over again into *Ireland*: The Stories of that time ſay, with a great Army, but the certain Numbers are not recorded: Yet it is credible, in regard of the Troubles wherewith this King was diſtreſſed in *England*, that this Army was not of ſufficient Strength to make an entire Conqueſt of *Ireland*; and if it had been of ſufficient Strength, yet did not the King ſtay a ſufficient Time to perform ſo great an Action; for he came over in *June*, and returned in *September*, the ſame Year. Howbeit, in that time the *Iriſh* Lords for the moſt Part, ſubmitted themſelves to him, as they had done before to his Father; which was but a meer Mockery and Impoſture: For his back was no ſooner turn'd, but they returned to their former Rebellion: And yet this was reputed a *ſecond Conqueſt*. And ſo this King giving Order for the Building of ſome Caſtles upon the Borders of the *Engliſh* Colonies, left behind him the *Biſhop of *Norwich*, for the Civil Government of the Land; but he left no ſtanding Army to proſecute the Conqueſt: Only the *Engliſh* Colonies which were already planted, were left to themſelves to maintain what they had got, and to gain more if they could.

The perſonal Preſence of theſe two great Princes, King *Henry* the Second and King *John*, though they performed no great thing with their Armies, gave ſuch Countenance to the *Engliſh* Colonies, which encreaſed daily by the coming over of new Voluntaries and Adventurers out of *England*, as that they enlarged their Territories very much. Howbeit, after this time the Kings of *England*, either becauſe they preſumed that the *Engliſh* Colonies were ſtrong enough to root out the *Iriſh* by degrees, or elſe becauſe they were diverted or diſabled otherwiſe (as ſhall be declared hereafter) never ſent over any Royal Army, or any Numbers of Men worthy

to

to be called an Army, into *Ireland*, until the Thirty ſixth Year of King *Edward* the Third, when *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the King's ſecond Son, having married the Daughter and Heir of *Ulſter*, was ſent over with an extraordinary Power in reſpect of the time (for the Wars betwixt *England* and *France* were then in their heat) as well to recover his Earldom of *Ulſter*, which was then over-run and poſſeſt by the *Iriſh*, as to reform the *Engliſh* Colonies, which were become ſtrangely degenerate throughout the whole Kingdom.

For though King *Henry* the Third gave the whole Land of *Ireland* to *Edward* the Prince, his eldeſt Son, and his Heirs, *Ita quod non Separatur a Corona Angliæ*. Whereupon it was ſtiled the Land of *Edward*, the King's eldeſt Son; and all the Officers of the Land were called the Officers of *Edward* Lord of *Ireland*: And though this *Edward* was one of the moſt active Princes that ever liv'd in *England*, yet did he neither in the Life-time of his Father, or during his own Reign, come over in Perſon, or tranſmit any Army into *Ireland*; but on the other ſide, he drew ſundry Aids and Supplies of Men out of *Ireland*, to ſerve him in his Wars in *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Gaſcoigne*. And again, though King *Edward* the Second ſent over *Piers Gaveſton* with a great Retinue, it was never intended he ſhould perfect the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, for the King could not want his Company ſo long a time as muſt have been ſpent in the finiſhing of ſo tedious a Work.

So then, in all that ſpace of time, between the twelfth Year of King *John*, and the 36th Year of King *Edward* the Third, containing 150 Years, or thereabouts, although there was a continual bordering War between the *Engliſh* and the *Iriſh*, there came no Royal Army out of *England* to make an end of the War. But the chief Governors of the Realm, who were at firſt called *Cuſtodes Hiberniæ*, and afterwards *Lords Juſtices*, and the *Engliſh* Lords, who had gotten great Poſſeſſions and Royalties, as that they preſumed to make War and Peace without direction from the State, did levy all their Forces within the

the Land. But those Forces were weakly supplied, and ill governed, as I said before: Weakly supplied with Men and Money; and governed with the worst Discipline that ever was seen among Men of War. And no marvel, for it is an infallible Rule, that *an Army ill paid, is ever unruly, and ill governed.* The standing Forces here were seldom or never re-inforced out of *England*; and such as were either sent from thence, or raised here, did commonly do more hurt and damage to the *English* Subjects, than to the *Irish* Enemies, by their continual Sess and Extortion. Which Mischief did arise, by reason that little or no Treasure was sent out of *England* to pay the Soldiers Wages: Only the King's Revenue was spent, and wholly spent in the publick Service: And therefore, in all the ancient Pipe-Rolls in the times of *Henry* the Third, *Edward* the First, *Edward* the Second, and *Edward* the Third, between the Receipts and Allowances, there is this Entry: *In Thesauro nihil.* For the Officers of the State and Army spent all, so as there was no Surplusage of Treasure; and yet that *All* was not sufficient. For in default of the King's Pay, as well the ordinary Forces which stood continually, as the extraordinary which were levied by the chief Governor, upon Journeys and general Hoastings, were for the most part laid upon the poor Subject descended of *English* Race: Howbeit, this Burthen was in some Measure tolerable in the time of King *Henry* the Third and King *Edward* the First; but in the time of King *Edward* the Second, *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* of *Desmond* being chief Commander against the *Scots*, began that wicked Extortion of *Coigne* and *Livery*, and Pay; that is, He and his Army took Horse-meat and Man's-meat, and Money at their Pleasure, without any Ticket, or other Satisfaction. And this was after that time, the general Fault of all the Governors and Commanders of the Army in this Land. Only the Golden Saying of Sir *Thomas Rookesby*, who was Justice in the thirtieth Year of King *Edward* the Third, is recorded in all the Annals of this Kingdom, *That he would eat in Wooden Dishes, but would pay for his Meat Gold and Sil-*

ver.

ver. Beſides, the *Engliſh* Colonies being diſperſed in every Province of this Kingdom, were enforced to keep continual Guards upon the Borders and Marches round about them; which Guards, conſiſting of idle Soldiers, were likewiſe impoſed as a continual Burthen upon the poor *Engliſh* Freeholders, whom they oppreſſed and impoveriſhed in the ſame manner. And becauſe the great *Engliſh* Lords and Captains had Power to impoſe this Charge when and where they pleaſed, many of the poor Freeholders were glad to give unto thoſe Lords a great Part of their Lands, to hold the reſt free from that Extortion: And many others, not being able to endure that intolerable Oppreſſion, did utterly quit their Freeholds, and returned into *England*. By this Means the *Engliſh* Colonies grew poor and weak, though the *Engliſh* Lords grew rich and mighty; for they placed *Iriſh* Tenants upon the Lands relinquiſhed by the *Engliſh*; upon them they levied all *Iriſh* Exactions, with them they married, and foſtered, and made Goſſips ſo as within one Age, the *Engliſh*, both Lords and Freeholders, became degenerate and meer *Iriſh* in their Language, in their Apparel, in their Arms and manner of Fight, and all other Cuſtoms of Life whatſoever.

By this it appeareth why the Extortion of *Coigne* and *Livery*, is called in the old Statutes of *Ireland*, *A damnable Cuſtom*; and the impoſing and taking thereof, made *High Treaſon*. And it is ſaid in an ancient Diſcourſe, *Of the Decay of* Ireland, that though it was firſt invented in Hell, yet if it had been uſed and practiſed there, as it hath been in *Ireland*, it had long ſince deſtroyed the very Kingdom of *Beelzebub*. In this manner was the War of *Ireland* carried, before the coming over of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*.

This young Prince, being Earl of *Ulſter*, and Lord of *Conaught*, in right of his Wife (who was Daughter and Heir of the Lord *William Bourk*, the laſt Earl of *Ulſter* of that Family, ſlain by Treachery at *Knockfergus*) was made the King's Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and ſent over with an Army in the ſix and thirtieth Year of King *Edward* the Third:

Third: The Roll and List of which Army doth remain of Record in the King's Remembrancers Office in *England* (in the Press *de Rebus tangentibus Hiberniam*) and doth not contain above fifteen hundred Men by the Poll; which because it differs somewhat from the manner of this Age, both in respect of the Command, and the Entertainment, I think it not impertinent to take a Brief View thereof.

The Lord *Lionel* was General, and under him *Raulf* Earl of *Stafford*, *James* Earl of *Ormonde*, Sir *John Carew*, Banneret, Sir *William Winsore*, and other Knights were Commanders.

The Entertainment of the General, upon his first Arrival, was but six Shillings eight Pence *per diem*, for himself; for five Knights, two Shillings a-piece *per diem*; for sixty four Esquires, twelve Pence a-piece *per diem*; for seventy Archers, six Pence a-piece *per diem*. But being shortly after created Duke of *Clarence* (which Honour was confer'd upon him being here in *Ireland*) his Entertainment was raised to thirteen Shillings four Pence *per diem*, for himself; and for eight Knights, two Shillings a-piece *per diem*; with an increase of the Number of his Archers, *viz.* three hundred and sixty Archers on Horseback, out of *Lancashire*, at six Pence a-piece *per diem*; and twenty three Archers out of *Wales*, at two Pence a-piece *per diem*.

The Earl of *Stafford*'s Entertainment was, for himself, six Shillings eight Pence *per diem*; for a Banneret, four Shillings *per diem*; for seventeen Knights, two Shillings a-piece *per diem*; for seventy eight Esquires, twelve Pence a-piece *per diem*; for one hundred Archers on Horseback, six Pence a-piece *per diem*. Besides, he had the Command of four and twenty Archers out of *Staffordshire*, forty Archers out of *Worcestershire*, and six Archers out of *Shropshire*, at four Pence a-piece *per diem*.

The Entertainment of *James* Earl of *Ormonde* was, for himself, four Shillings *per diem*; for two Knights, two Shillings a-piece *per diem*; for seven and twenty Esquires, twelve Pence a-piece *per diem*; for twenty Hob-

lers

lers armed (the *Iriſh* Horſemen were ſo called, becauſe they ſerved on Hobbies) ſix Pence a-piece *per diem*; and for twenty Hoblers not armed, four Pence a-piece *per diem*.

The Entertainment of Sir *John Carew*, Banneret, was, for himſelf, four Shillings *per diem*; for one Knight, two Shillings *per diem*; for eight Eſquires, twelve Pence a-piece *per diem*; for ten Archers on Horſeback, ſix Pence a-piece *per diem*.

The Entertainment of Sir *William Winſore* was, for himſelf, two Shillings *per diem*; for two Knights, two Shillings a-piece *per diem*; for forty nine Eſquires, twelve Pence a-piece *per diem*; for ſix Archers on Horſeback, ſix Pence a-piece *per diem*.

The like Entertainment ratably, was allowed to divers Knights and Gentlemen upon that Liſt, for themſelves and their ſeveral Retinues; whereof ſome were greater, and ſome leſs, as they themſelves could raiſe them among their Tenants and Followers.

For in ancient times, the King himſelf did not levy his Armies by his own immediate Authority or Commiſſion; but the Lords and Captains did by Indenture covenant with the King, to ſerve him in his Wars, with certain Numbers of Men, for certain Wages and Entertainments, which they raiſed in greater or leſſer Numbers; as they had Favour or Power with the People. This Courſe hath been changed in latter times upon good Reaſons of State: for the Barons and chief Gentlemen of the Realm, having Power to uſe the King's Prerogative in that point, became too popular; whereby they were enabled to raiſe Forces even againſt the Crown it ſelf; which ſince the Statutes made for levying and muſtering of Soldiers by the King's ſpecial Commiſſion, they cannot ſo eaſily perform, if they ſhould forget their Duties.

This Lord Lieutenant, with his ſmall Army, performed no great Service; and yet upon his coming over, all men who had Land in *Ireland*, were by Proclamation commanded back out of *England* thither; and both the Clergy and Laity of this Land gave two Years Profits of

all their Lands and Tythes, towards the Maintenance of the War here: Only he ſuppreſſed ſome Rebels in low *Leinſter*, and recovered the Maritime Parts of his Earldom of *Ulſter*. But his beſt Service did conſiſt in the well-governing of his Army, and in holding that famous Parliament at *Kilkenny*, wherein the Extortion of the Soldier, and the degenerate Manners of the *Engliſh* (briefly ſpoken of before) were diſcovered, and Laws made to reform the ſame: Which ſhall be declared more at large hereafter.

The next Lieutenant, tranſmitted with any Forces out of *England*, was Sir *William Winſore*; who in the 47th Year of King *Edward* the Third, undertook the Cuſtody, not the Conqueſt of this Land (for now the *Engliſh* made rather a defenſive than an invaſive War) and withal, to defray the whole Charge of the Kingdom for Eleven thouſand two hundred thirteen Pounds, ſix Shillings and eight Pence, as appeareth by the Indenture between him and the King, remaining of Record in the Tower of *London*. But it appeareth by that which *Froiſſard* reporteth, that Sir *William Winſore* was ſo far from ſubduing the *Iriſh*, as that himſelf reported, That he could never have Acceſs to underſtand and know their Countries, although he had ſpent more time in the Service of *Ireland*, than any *Engliſh* Man then living.

And here I may well take Occaſion to ſhew the Vanity of that which is reported in the Story of *Walſingham*, touching the Revenue of the Crown in *Ireland*, in the time of King *Edward* the Third: For he ſetting forth the ſtate of things there, in the time of King *Richard* the Second, writeth thus: *Cum Rex Angliæ illuſtris, Edwardus tertius illic poſuiſſet Bancum ſuum atque Judices, cum Scaccario, percepit inde ad Regalem Fiſcum annuatim triginta millia librarum; modò propter abſentiam ligeorum, & hoſtium potentiam, nihil inde venit: Sed Rex per annos ſingulos, de ſuo Marſupio, terræ defenſoribus ſolvit Triginta millia marcarum, ad regni ſui dedecus & fiſci graviſſimum detrimentum.*

If this Writer had known, that the King's Courts had been eſtabliſhed in *Ireland* more than an hundred Years before

before King *Edward* the Third was born; or had ſeen either the Parliament Rolls in *England*, or the Records of the Receipts and Iſſues in *Ireland*, he had not left this vain Report to Poſterity: For both the Benches and the Exchequer were erected in the twelfth Year of King *John*. And it is recorded in the Parliament Rolls of 21. of King *Edward* the Third, remaining in the Tower, that the Commons of *England* made Petition that it might be enquired, why the King received no Benefit of his Land of *Ireland*, conſidering he poſſeſſed more there than any of his Anceſtors had before him. Now, if the King at that time, when there was no ſtanding Forces maintained there, had received thirty thouſand Pound yearly at his Exchequer in *Ireland*, he muſt needs have made Profit by that Land, conſidering that the whole Charge of the Kingdom in the 47th Year of *Edward* the Third (when the King did pay an Army there) did amount to no more than eleven thouſand and two hundred Pounds *per Annum*, as appeareth by the Contract of Sir *William Winſore*.

Beſides, it is manifeſt by the Pipe-Rolls of that time, whereof many are yet preſerved in *Bremingham*'s Tower, and are of better Credit than any Monk's Story; that during the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, the Revenue of the Crown of *Ireland*, both certain and caſual, did not riſe unto ten thouſand Pound *per Annum*, though the Medium be taken of the beſt ſeven Years that are to be found in that King's time. The like Fable hath *Hollingſhead* touching the Revenue of the Earldom of *Ulſter*; which (ſaith he) in the time of King *Richard* the ſecond was thirty thouſand Marks by the Year; whereas in truth, though the Lordſhips of *Conaught* and *Meath* (which were then Parcel of the Inheritance of the Earl of *Ulſter*) be added to the Accompt, the Revenue of that Earldom came not to the third Part of that he writeth. For the Accompt of the Profits of *Ulſter* yet remaining in *Bremingham*'s Tower, made by *William Fitz-Warren*, Seneſchal and Farmer of the Lands in *Ulſter*, ſeized into the King's Hands after the death of *Walter de Burgo*,

Earl

Earl of *Ulſter*, from the fifth Year of King *Edward* the Third, until the eighth Year, do amount but to nine hundred and odd Pounds, at which Time the *Iriſhry* had not made ſo great an Invaſion upon the Earldom of *Ulſter*, as they had done in the time of King *Richard* the Second.

As vain a thing it is, that I have ſeen written in an ancient Manuſcript, touching the Cuſtoms of this Realm in the time of King *Edward* the Third, that thoſe Duties in thoſe Days ſhould yearly amount to ten thouſand Marks, which by my own ſearch and view of the Records here, I can juſtly controul: For upon the late reducing of this ancient Inheritance of the Crown, which had been detained in moſt of the Port-Towns of this Realm, for the ſpace of an hundred Years and upwards, I took ſome Pains (according to the Duty of my Place) to viſit all the Pipe-Rolls, wherein the Accompts of Cuſtoms are contained, and found thoſe Duties anſwered in every Port, for two hundred and fifty Years together, but did not find that at any time they did exceed a thouſand Pound *per Annum*; and no marvel, for the Subſidy of Poundage was not then known, and the greateſt Profit did ariſe by the Cocquet of Hides; for Wool and Woolfells were ever of little Value in this Kingdom.

But now again let us ſee how the Martial Affairs proceeded in *Ireland*. Sir *William Winſore* continued his Government till the latter End of the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, keeping, but not enlarging the *Engliſh* Borders.

In the beginning of the Reign of King *Richard* the Second, the State of *England* began to think of the Recovery of *Ireland*: For then was the firſt Statute made againſt Abſentees, commanding all ſuch as had Land in *Ireland*, to return and reſide thereupon, upon pain to forfeit two third parts of the Profit thereof. Again, this King, before he intended to paſs over, committed the Government of this Realm to ſuch great Lords ſucceſſively, as he did moſt love and favour: Firſt, to the Earl of *Oxford*, his chief Minion, whom he created Marqueſs of *Dublin*, and Duke of *Ireland*: Next, to the Duke of

of *Surry*, his Half-brother: And laſtly, to the Lord *Mortimer*, Earl of *March* and *Ulſter*, his Couſin and Heir apparent.

Among the Patent Rolls in the Tower, the ninth Year of *Richard* the Second, we find five hundred Men at Arms at twelve Pence a-piece *per diem*, and a thouſand Archers at ſix Pence a-piece *per diem*, appointed for the Duke of *Ireland*, *Super Conqueſtu illius terræ per duos annos*: For thoſe are the Words of that Record. But for the other two Lieutenants, I do not find the certain Numbers whereof their Armies did conſiſt: But certain it is, that they were ſcarce able to defend the *Engliſh* Borders, much leſs to reduce the whole Iſland: For one of them, namely, the Earl of *March*, was himſelf ſlain upon the Borders of *Meath*; for Revenge of whoſe death, the King himſelf made his ſecond Voyage into *Ireland*, in the laſt Year of his Reign. For his firſt Voyage in the eighteenth Year of his Reign (which was indeed a Voyage-Royal) was made upon another Motive and Occaſion, which was this: Upon the Vacancy of the Empire, this King having married the King of *Bohemia*'s Daughter (whereby he had great Alliance in *Germany*) did by his Ambaſſadors ſollicite the Princes Electors to chuſe him Emperor: But another being elected, and his Ambaſſadors returned, he would needs know of them the Cauſe of his Repulſe in that Competition: They told him plainly, that the Princes of *Germany* did not think him fit to command the Empire, who was neither able to hold that which his Anceſtors had gained in *France*, nor to rule his inſolent Subjects in *England*, nor to maſter his rebellious People of *Ireland*. This was enough to kindle in the Heart of a young Prince, a Deſire to perform ſome great Enterprize; and therefore finding it no fit time to attempt *France*, he reſolved to finiſh the Conqueſt of *Ireland*; and to that end he levied a mighty Army conſiſting of four thouſand Men at Arms, and thirty thouſand Archers, which was a ſufficient Power to have reduced the whole Iſland, if he had firſt broken the *Iriſh* with a War, and after eſtabliſhed the *Engliſh* Laws among them, and not have been ſatisfied with

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their light Submissions only, wherewith, in all Ages they have mock'd and abused the State of *England*. But the *Irish* Lords knowing this to be a sure Policy to dissolve the Forces, which they were not able to resist (for their Ancestors had put the same Trick and Imposture upon King *John* and King *Henry* the Second) as soon as the King was arrived with his Army, which he brought over under S. *Edward*'s Banner (whose Name was had in great Veneration amongst the *Irish*) they all made Offer to submit themselves: Whereupon the Lord *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham* and Marshal of *England*, was authorized by special Commission to receive the Homages and Oaths of Fidelity, of all the *Irishry* of *Leinster*. And the King himself having received humble Letters from *Oneal* (wherein he stileth himself Prince of the *Irishry* in *Ulster*, and yet acknowledgeth the King to be his Sovereign Lord, *& perpetuus Dominus Hiberniæ*) removed to *Drogheda*, to accept the like Submissions from the *Irishry* of *Ulster*. The Men of *Leinster*, namely, *Mac Murrogh*, *ô Byrne*, *ô Moore*, *ô Murrogh*, *ô Nolan*, and the Chief of the *Kinshelaghs*, in an humble and solemn Manner did their Homages, and made their Oaths of Fidelity to the Earl Marshal, laying aside their Girdles, their Skeins and their Caps, and falling down at his Feet upon their Knees; which when they had performed, the Earl gave unto each of them, *Osculum pacis*.

Besides they were bound by several Indentures, upon great Pains, to be paid to the Apostolick Chamber, not only to continue loyal Subjects, but that by a certain Day prefixed, they and all their Sword-men should clearly relinquish and give up unto the King and his Successors all their Lands and Possessions which they held in *Leinster*, and (taking with them only their moveable Goods) should serve him in his Wars against his other Rebels: In Consideration whereof, the King should give them Pay and Pensions during their Lives, and bestow the Inheritance of all such Lands upon them, as they should recover from the Rebels, in any

any other part of the Realm. And thereupon a Penſion of eighty Marks *per Annum*, was granted to *Art' Macmurrogh*, chief of the *Kavanghes*; the Enrolment whereof I found in the white Book of the Exchequer here. And this was the effect of the Service performed by the Earl Marſhal, by virtue of his Commiſſion. The King in like manner received the Submiſſions of the Lords of *Ulſter*; namely, *ô Neal*, *ô Hanlan*, *Mac-donel*, *Mac-mahen*, and others, who with the like Humility and Ceremony did Homage and Fealty to the King's own Perſon: The Words of *ô Neale's* Homage, as they are recorded, are not unfit to be remembred. *Ego Nelanus Oneale Senior tam pro meipſo, quam pro filiis meis, & tota natione mea & Parentelis meis, & pro omnibus ſubditis meis devenio Ligeus homo veſter, &c.* And in the Indenture between him and the King, he is not only bound to remain faithful to the Crown of *England*, but to reſtore the *Benaught* of *Ulſter* to the Earl of *Ulſter*, as of right belonging to that Earldom, and uſurped among other things by the *Oneals*.

Theſe Indentures and Submiſſions, with many other of the ſame kind (for there was not a Chieftain, or Head of an *Iriſh* Sept, but ſubmitted himſelf in one Form or other) the King himſelf cauſed to be enrolled and teſtified by a Notary Publick, and delivered the Enrolments with his own Hands to the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, then Lord Treaſurer of *England*, ſo as they have been preſerved, and are now to be found in the Office of the King's Remembrancer there.

With theſe Humilities they ſatisfied the young King, and by their bowing and bending, avoided the preſent Storm; and ſo brake that Army which was prepared to break them. For the King having accepted their Submiſſions, received them in *Oſculo pacis*, feaſted them, and given the Honour of knighthood to divers of them, did break up and diſſolve his Army, and returned into *England* with much Honour and ſmall Profit (ſaith *Froiſſard*:) For though he had ſpent a huge Maſs of Treaſure in tranſporting his Army, by the Countenance whereof he drew

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on their Submiſſions, yet did he not encreaſe his Revenue thereby one ſterling Pound, nor enlarg'd the *Engliſh* Borders the breadth of one Acre of Land; neither did he extend the Juriſdiction of his Courts of Juſtice one Foot further than the *Engliſh* Colonies, wherein it was uſed and exerciſed before. Beſides, he was no ſooner returned into *England*, but thoſe *Iriſh* Lords laid aſide their Masks of Humility, and ſcorning the weak Forces which the King had left behind him, began to infeſt the Borders; in defence whereof, the Lord *Roger Mortimore*, being then the King's Lieutenant, and Heir Apparent to the Crown of *England*, was ſlain, as I ſaid before: whereupon the King being moved with a juſt Appetite of Revenge, came over again in Perſon, in the 22d Year of his Reign, with as potent an Army as he had done before, with a full purpoſe to make a full Conqueſt of *Ireland*. He landed at *Waterford*; and paſſing from thence to *Dublin*, through the waſte Countries of the *Murroghs*, *Kinſhelaghs*, *Cavanaghs*, *Birnes* and *Tooles*, his great Army was much diſtreſſed for want of Victuals and Carriages; ſo as he performed no memorable thing in that Journey, only in the *Cavanagh*'s Country he cut and cleared the Paces, and beſtowed the Honour of knighthood upon the Lord *Henry*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Son, who was afterwards King *Henry* the Fifth, and ſo came to *Dublin*, where entring into Council how to proceed in the War, he received News out of *England*, of the Arrival of the baniſh'd Duke of *Lancaſter* at *Ravenſpurgh*, uſurping the Regal Authority, and arreſting and putting to Death his principal Officers.

This Advertiſement ſuddenly brake off the King's Purpoſe touching the Proſecution of the War in *Ireland*, and tranſported him into *England*, where ſhortly after he ended both his Reign and his Life; ſince whoſe time, until the 39th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, there was never any Army ſent over of a competent Strength or Power to ſubdue the *Iriſh*; but the War was made by the *Engliſh* Colonies, only to defend their Borders: or if any Forces were tranſmitted over, they were ſent only to ſuppreſs the Rebellions

bellions of ſuch as were deſcended of *Engliſh* Race; and not to enlarge our Dominion over the *Iriſh*.

During the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth, the Lord *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, the King's ſecond Son, was Lieutenant of *Ireland*; who, for the firſt eight Years of that King's Reign, made the Lord *Scroope*, and others, his Deputies; who only defended the Marches with Forces levied within the Land. In the eighth Year that Prince came over in Perſon with a ſmall Retinue; ſo as wanting a ſufficient Power to attempt or perform any great Service, he return'd within ſeven Months after into *England*: Yet during his perſonal Abode there, he was hurt in his own Perſon within one Mile of *Dublin*, upon an Encounter with the *Iriſh* Enemy. He took the Submiſſion of *o Birne* of the Mountains, *Mac mahon* and *o Rely*, by ſeveral Indentures, wherein *ô Birne* doth covenant, that the King ſhall quietly enjoy the Mannor of *New-Caſtle*; *Mac-mahon* accepteth a State in the *Ferny* for Life, rendring ten Pound a Year; and *ô Rely* doth promiſe to perform ſuch Duties to the Earl of *March* and *Ulſter*, as were contained in an Indenture dated the eighteenth of *Richard* the ſecond.

In the time of *Henry* the Fifth there came no Forces out of *England*: however, the Lord *Furnival* being the King's Lieutenant, made a Martial Circuit, or Journey, round about the Marches and Borders of the Pale; and brought all the *Iriſh* to the King's Peace, beginning with the *Birnes*, *Tooles*, and *Cavanaghs* on the South; and ſo paſſing to the *Moores*, *ô Conners*, and *ô Forals*, in the Weſt; and ending with the *ô Relies*, *Mac mahons*, *ô Neales*, and *ô Hanlons* in the North. He had Power to make them ſeek the King's Peace, but not Power to reduce them to the Obedience of Subjects: yet this was then held ſo great and worthy a Service, as that the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the Pale made Certificate thereof in *French* unto the King being then in *France*; which I have ſeen recorded in the white Book of the Exchequer at *Dublin*. Howbeit, his Army was ſo ill paid and govern'd, as the *Engliſh* ſuffered more Damage by the Seſs of his Soldiers

(for now that Monſter *Coigne* and *Livery*, which the Statute of *Kilkenny* had for a time aboliſhed, was riſen again from Hell) than they gained Profit or Security, by abating the Pride of their Enemies for a time.

During the Minority of King *Henry* the ſixth, and for the ſpace of ſeven or eight Years after, the Lieutenants and Deputies made only a bordering War upon the *Iriſh*, with ſmall and ſcattered Forces: Howbeit, becauſe there came no Treaſure out of *England* to pay the Soldiers, the poor *Engliſh* Subjects did bear the Burthen of the Men of War in every place; and were thereby ſo weakned and impoveriſhed, as the ſtate of things in *Ireland* ſtood very deſperately.

Whereupon the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, (who, after the Death of *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*, did wholly ſway the State of *England*) being deſirous to place the Duke of *Somerſet* in the Regency of *France*, took occaſion to remove *Richard* Duke of *York* from that Government, and to ſend him into *Ireland*, pretending that he was the moſt able and willing Perſon to perform Service there, becauſe he had a great Inheritance of his own in *Ireland*, namely, the Earldom of *Ulſter*, and the Lordſhips of *Connaught* and *Meath*, by deſcent from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*.

We do not find that this great Lord came over with any numbers of waged Soldiers, but it appeareth upon what good terms he took that Government, by the Covenants between the King and him, which are recorded and confirmed by Act of Parliament of *Ireland*, and were to this Effect.

1. That he ſhould be the King's Lieutenant of *Ireland*, for ten Years.

2. That to ſupport the Charge of that Country, he ſhould receive all the King's Revenues there, both certain and caſual, without Accompt.

3. That he ſhould be ſupplied alſo with Treaſure out of *England*, in this Manner; He ſhould have Four thouſand Marks for the firſt Year, whereof he ſhould be in preſt

preſted 2000 *l.* before-hand; and for the other nine Years he ſhould receive 2000 *l. per Annum.*

4. That he might Let to Farm the King's Lands, and place and diſplace all Officers at his Pleaſure.

5. That he might levy and wage what numbers of Men he thought fit.

6. That he might make a Deputy, and return at his Pleaſure.

We cannot preſume that this Prince kept any great Army on Foot, as well becauſe his Means out of *England* were ſo mean, and thoſe ill paid, as appeareth by his paſſionate Letter written to the Earl of *Salisbury* his Brother-in-law; the Copy whereof is regiſtred in the Story of this time; as alſo becauſe the whole Land, except the *Engliſh* Pale, and ſome part of the Earldom of *Ulſter*, upon the Sea-coaſts, were poſſeſt by the *Iriſh*: ſo as the Revenue of the Kingdom, which he was to receive, did amount to little. He kept the Borders and Marches of the Pale with much ado; he held many Parliaments, wherein ſundry Laws were made for erecting of Caſtles in *Louth*, *Meath*, and *Kildare*, to ſtop the Incurſions of the *Iriſhry*: And becauſe the Soldiers for want of Pay were ſeſſed and laid upon the Subjects againſt their Wills; upon the Prayer and Importunity of the Commons, this Extortion was declared to be High-Treaſon. But to the end that ſome Means might be raiſed to nouriſh ſome Forces for defence of the Pale, by another Act of Parliament, every twenty Pound Land was charged with the Furniſhing and Maintenance of one Archer on Horſeback.

Beſides, the native Subjects of *Ireland*, ſeeing the Kingdom utterly ruined, did paſs in ſuch Numbers to *England*, as one Law was made in *England*, to tranſmit them back again, and another Law made here to ſtop their Paſſage in every Port and Creek: Yet afterwards, the greateſt part of the Nobility and Gentry of *Meath* paſt over into *England*, and were ſlain with him at *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire*.

Laſtly, the State of *England* was ſo far from ſending an Army to ſubdue the *Iriſh* at this time, as among the

Articles of Grievances exhibited by the Duke of *York* againſt King *Henry* the ſixth, this is one, That divers Lords about the King had cauſed his Highneſs to write Letters unto ſome of his *Iriſh* Enemies; whereby they were encouraged to attempt the Conqueſt of the ſaid Land: which Letters the ſame *Iriſh* Enemies had ſent unto the Duke, marvelling greatly that ſuch Letters ſhould be ſent unto them, and ſpeaking therein great ſhame of the Realm of *England*.

After this, when this great Lord was returned into *England*, and making Claim to the Crown, began the War betwixt the two Houſes; it cannot be conceived but that the Kingdom fell into a worſe and weaker State.

When *Edward* the Fourth was ſettled in the Kingdom of *England*, he made his Brother, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*: This Prince was born in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, during the Government of his Father the Duke of *York*; yet did he never paſs over into this Kingdom to govern it in Perſon, though he held the Lieutenancy many Years. But it is manifeſt that King *Edward* the Fourth did not pay any Army in *Ireland* during his Reign; but the Men of War did pay themſelves by taking Coigne and Livery upon the Country: which Extortion grew ſo exceſſive and intolerable as the Lord *Tiptoft*, being Deputy to the Duke of *Clarence*, was enforced to execute the Law upon the greateſt Earl in the Kingdom; namely, *Deſmond*, who loſt his Head at *Dregheda* for this Offence. Howbeit, that the State might not ſeem utterly to neglect the Defence of the Pale, there was a Fraternity of Men at Arms, called, *The Brotherhood of St.* George, erected by Parliament the 14th of *Edward* the Fourth, conſiſting of thirteen of the moſt Noble and Worthy Perſons within the Four ſhires. Of the firſt Foundation were *Thomas* Earl *of Kildare*, Sir *Rowland Euſtace*, Lord *of Port-leſter*, and Sir *Robert Euſtace* for the County *of Kildare*; *Robert* Lord *of Howth*, the Mayor *of Dublin*, and Sir *Robert Dowdal* for the County *of Dublin*; the Viſcount *of Gormanſtown*. *Edward Plunket*, Seneſchal *of Meath*, *Alexander Plunket*, and *Barnaby*

Barne

Barnewale, for the County *of Meath*; the Mayor *of Drogheda*, Sir *Lawrence Taaffe*, and *Richard Bellewe*, for the County *of Louth*. Theſe, and their Succeſſors, were to meet yearly upon *St. George*'s Day; and to chuſe one of themſelves to be Captain of that Brotherhood, for the next Year to come: which Captain ſhould have at his Command 120 Archers on Horſeback, 40 Horſemen, and 40 Pages, to ſuppreſs Out-laws and Rebels: The Wages of every Archer ſhould be ſix Pence *per diem*; and every Horſeman five Pence *per diem*, and four Marks *per Annum*: And to pay theſe Entertainments, and to maintain this new Fraternity, there was granted unto them by the ſame Act of Parliament, a Subſidy of Poundage out of all Merchandizes exported or imported throughout the Realm, (Hides, and the Goods of Freemen of *Dublin* and *Drogheda* only excepted.) Theſe 200 Men were all the ſtanding Forces that were then maintained in *Ireland*: and as they were Natives of the Kingdom, ſo the Kingdom itſelf did pay their Wages, without expecting any Treaſure out of *England*.

But now the Wars of *Lancaſter* and *York* being ended, and *Henry* the ſeventh being in the actual and peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *England*; let us ſee if this King did ſend over a competent Army to make a perfect Conqueſt of *Ireland*. Aſſuredly, if theſe two Idols (or Counterfeits) which were ſet up againſt him in the beginning of his Reign, had not found Footing and Followers in this Land, King *Henry* the ſeventh had ſent neither Horſe nor Foot hither, but left the Pale to the Guard and Defence of the Fraternity of *St. George*, which ſtood till the tenth Year of his Reign. And therefore, upon the Erection of the firſt Idol, which was *Lambert* the Prieſt's Boy, he tranſmitted no Forces; but ſent over Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, with Commiſſion to take an Oath of Allegiance of all the Nobility, Gentry, and Citizens of this Kingdom; which Service he perform'd fully, and made an exact Return of his Commiſſion to the King. And immediately after that the King ſent for all the Lords of Parliament of this Realm; who repairing

to his Preſence, were firſt in a kingly manner reproved by him; for among other Things he told them, that if their King were ſtill abſent from them, they would at length crown Apes; but at laſt entertained them, and diſmiſs'd them graciouſly. This Courſe of Clemency he held at firſt: but after, when *Perkin Warbeck*, who was ſet up, and followed chiefly by the *Geraldines* in *Leinſter*, and Citizens of *Cork* in *Munſter*; to ſuppreſs this Counterfeit, the King ſent over Sir *Edward Poynings* with an Army (as the Hiſtories call it) which did not conſiſt of a thouſand Men by the Poll; and yet it brought ſuch Terror with it, as all the Adherents of *Perkin Warbeck* were ſcatter'd, and retir'd for Succour into the *Iriſh* Countries; to the Marches whereof he marched with his weak Forces, but ſoon return'd, and held a Parliament; wherein, among many good Laws, one Act was made, That no Subject ſhould make any War or Peace within the Land, without the ſpecial Licence of the King's Lieutenant or Deputy. A manifeſt Argument, that at that time the bordering Wars in this Kingdom were made altogether by Voluntaries, upon their own Head, without any Pay or Entertainment, and without any Order or Commiſſion from the State. And though the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, in the 19th Year of this King's Reign, join'd the famous Battle of *Knocktow* in *Conaught*, wherein *Mac William*, with 4000 of the *Iriſh* and degenerate *Engliſh* were ſlain; yet was not this Journey made by Warrant from the King, or upon his Charge (as is expreſſed in the Book of *Howth*) but only upon a private Quarrel of the Earl of *Kildare*: ſo looſely were the martial Affairs of *Ireland* carried during the Reign of King *Henry* the ſeventh.

In the time of King *Henry* VIII. the Earl of *Surrey*, Lord Admiral, was made Lieutenant; and though he was the greateſt Captain of the *Engliſh* Nation then living, yet brought he with him rather an honourable Guard for his Perſon, than a competent Army to recover *Ireland*; for he had in his Retinue two hundred tall Yeomen of the King's Guard. But becauſe he wanted Means to perform

form any great Action, he made Means to return the ſooner: Yet in the mean time he was not idle, but paſſed the ſhort time he ſpent here in holding a Parliament, and divers Journies againſt the Rebels in *Leinſter*; inſomuch as he was hurt in his own Perſon upon the Borders of *Leix*. After the Revocation of this honourable Perſonage, King *Henry* the Eighth ſent no Forces into *Ireland* till the Rebellion of the *Geraldines*, which happen'd in the ſeven and twentieth Year of his Reign; then ſent he over Sir *William Skevington* with five hundred Men, only to quench that Fire, and not to enlarge the Border, or to rectify the Government. This Deputy died in the midſt of the Service, ſo as the Lord *Leonard Gray* was ſent to finiſh it; who arriving with a Supply of two hundred Men, or thereabouts, did ſo proſecute the Rebels, as the Lord *Garret*, their Chieftain, and his five Uncles, ſubmitted themſelves unto him, and were by him tranſmitted into *England*.

But this Service being ended, that active Nobleman with his little Army, and ſome Aids of the Pale, did oftentimes repel *ô Neal* and *ô Donel*, attempting the Invaſion of the Civil Shires; and at laſt made that proſperous Fight at *Belahoo* on the Confines of *Meath*, the Memory whereof is yet famous, as that he defeated (well nigh) all the Power of the *North*, and ſo quieted the Border for many Years.

Hitherto then it is manifeſt, that ſince the laſt Tranſfretation of King *Richard* the ſecond, the Crown of *England* never ſent over either numbers of Men, or quantities of Treaſure, ſufficient to defend the ſmall Territory of the Pale, much leſs to reduce that which was loſt, or to finiſh the Conqueſt of the whole Iſland.

After this Sir *Anthony St. Leger* was made chief Governor, who performed great Service in a civil Courſe, as ſhall be expreſs'd hereafter. But Sir *Edward Bellingham*, who ſucceeded him, proceeded in a martial Courſe againſt the *Iriſhry*, and was the firſt Deputy from the time of King *Edward* the Third, till the Reign of King *Edward* the ſixth, that extended the Border beyond the Limits

mits of the *Engliſh* Pale, by beating and breaking the *Moors* and *Connors*, and building the Forts of *Leix* and *Offaly*. This Service he performed with ſix hundred Horſe, the Monthly Charge whereof did ariſe to ſeven hundred and ſeventy Pound; and four hundred Foot, whoſe Pay did amount to four hundred and forty ſix Pound *per menſem*; as appeareth upon the Treaſurers Accompt remaining in the Office of the King's Remembrancer in *England*. Yet were not theſe Countries ſo fully recovered by this Deputy, but that *Thomas* Earl of *Suſſex* did put the laſt Hand to this Work; and rooting out theſe two rebellious Septs, planted *Engliſh* Colonies in their Rooms, which in all the tumultuous times ſince, have kept their Habitations, their Loyalty, and Religion.

And now are we come to the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, who ſent over more Men, and ſpent more Treaſure to ſave and reduce the Land of *Ireland*, than all her Progenitors ſince the Conqueſt.

During her Reign there aroſe three notorious and main Rebellions, which drew ſeveral Armies out of *England*: The firſt of *Shane ô Neal*; the ſecond of *Deſmond*; the laſt of *Tirone*; (for the particular Inſurrections of the Viſcount *Baltinglaſs* and Sir *Edmund Butler*, the *Moors*, the *Cavanaghs*, the *Birnes*, and the *Bourkes* of *Conaught*, were all ſuppreſſed by the ſtanding Forces here.)

To ſubdue *Shane ô Neal* in the height of his Rebellion, in the Year 1566. Captain *Randal* tranſported a Regiment of one thouſand Men into *Ulſter*, and planted a Garriſon at *Loughfoile*: Before the coming of which Supply, *viz.* in the Year 1565. the Liſt of the ſtanding Army of Horſe and Foot, *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, did not exceed the Number of twelve hundred Men, as appeareth by the Treaſurers Accompt of *Ireland*, now remaining in the Exchequer of *England*. With theſe Forces did Sir *Henry Sidney* (then Lord Deputy march into the fartheſt Parts of *Tirone*, and joyning with Captain *Randal*, did much diſtreſs (but not fully defeat) *ô Neal*, who was afterwards ſlain upon a meer Accident by the *Scots*, and not by the Queen's Army.

To

To proſecute the Wars in *Munſter*, againſt *Deſmond* and his Adherents, there were tranſmitted out of *England*, at ſeveral times, three or four thouſand Men; which, together with the ſtanding Garriſons, and ſome other Supplies raiſed here, made at one time an Army of ſix thouſand, and upwards: Which, with the Virtue and Valour of *Arthur* Lord *Gray*, and others the Commanders, did prove a ſufficient Power to extinguiſh that Rebellion. But that being done, it was never intended that theſe Forces ſhould ſtand till the reſt of the Kingdom was ſettled and reduced: Only, that Army which was brought over by the Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord Lieutenant and Governor General of this Kingdom, in the nine and thirtieth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, to ſuppreſs the Rebellion of *Tirone*, which was ſpread univerſally over the whole Realm: That Army, I ſay (the Command whereof, with the Government of the Realm, was ſhortly after transferred to the Command of the Lord *Montjoy*, afterwards Earl of *Devonſhire*, who with ſingular Wiſdom, Valour, and Induſtry, did proſecute and finiſh the War) did conſiſt of ſuch good Men of War, and of ſuch Numbers, being well nigh twenty thouſand by the Poll, and was ſo royally ſupplied and paid, and continued in full ſtrength ſo long a time, as that it brake and abſolutely ſubdued all the Lords and Chieftains of the *Iriſhry*, and degenerate or rebellious *Engliſh*. Whereupon the Multitude, who ever loved to be Followers of ſuch as could maſter and defend them, admiring the Power of the Crown of *England*, being bray'd (as it were) in a Morter, with the Sword, Famine, and Peſtilence together, ſubmitted themſelves to the *Engliſh* Government, received the Laws and Magiſtrates; and moſt gladly embraced the King's Pardon and Peace in all parts of the Realm, with Demonſtration of Joy and Comfort; which made, indeed, an entire, perfect, and final Conqueſt of *Ireland*. And though upon the finiſhing of the War this great Army was reduced to leſs Numbers, yet hath his Majeſty in his Wiſdom thought fit ſtill to maintain ſuch competent Forces here, as the Law may make her Progreſs and Cir-

cuit about the Realm, under the Protection of the Sword. (as *Virgo*, the Figure of Juſtice, is by *Leo* in the *Zodiack*) until the People have perfectly learn'd the Leſſon of Obedience, and the Conqueſt be eſtabliſhed in the Hearts of all Men.

THus far have I endeavoured to make it manifeſt, that from the firſt Adventure and Attempt of the *Engliſh* (to ſubdue and conquer *Ireland*) until the laſt War with *Tirone* (which as it was Royally undertaken, ſo it was really proſecuted to the End) there hath been four main Defects in the Carriage of the Martial Affairs here. Firſt, the Armies, for the moſt part, were too weak for a Conqueſt: Secondly, when they were of a competent Strength (as in both the Journeys of *Richard* the Second) they were too ſoon broken up and diſſolved: Thirdly, they were ill paid: And fourthly, they were ill governed, which is always a Conſequent of ill Payment.

But why was not this great Work performed before the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, conſidering that many of the Kings her Progenitors were as great Captains as any in the World, and had elſewhere larger Dominions and Territories? Firſt, who can tell whether the Divine Wiſdom, to abate the Glory of thoſe Kings, did not reſerve this Work to be done by a Queen, that it might rather appear to be his own immediate Work; and yet for her greater Honour, made it the laſt of her great Actions, as it were, to crown all the reſt? And to the end that a ſecure Peace might ſettle the Conqueſt, and make it firm and perpetual to Poſterity, cauſed it to be made in that fulneſs of time when *England* and *Scotland* became to be united under one Imperial Crown, and when the Monarchy of Great *Britany* was in League and Amity with all the World. Beſides, the Conqueſt at this time doth (perhaps) fulfil that Prophecy wherein the four great Prophets of *Ireland* do concur, as it is recorded by *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, to this Effect: That after the firſt Invaſion of the *Engliſh*, they ſhould ſpend many Ages in *crebris conflictibus, longoq; certamine*

multis cædibus. And that, *Omnes fere Anglici ab Hibernia turbabuntur: Nihilominus orientalia maritima ſemper obtinebunt; ſed vix paulo antè diem Judicii; plenam Anglorum populo victoriam compromittunt; Inſula Hibernica de mari uſque ad mare de toto ſubacta & incaſtellata.* If St. *Patrick* and the reſt did not utter this Prophecy, certainly *Giraldus* is a Prophet, who hath reported it. To this we may add the Prophecy of *Merlin*, ſpoken of alſo by *Giraldus*, *Sextus mœnia Hiberniæ ſubvertet, & regiones in Regnum redigentur.* Which is performed in the time of King *James* the Sixth; in that all the Paſſes are cleared, and Places of Faſtneſs laid open, which are the proper Walls and Caſtles of the *Iriſh*, as they were of the *Britiſh* in the time of *Agricola*; and withal, the *Iriſh* Countries being reduced into Counties, make but one entire and undivided kingdom.

But to leave theſe high and obſcure Cauſes, the plain and manifeſt truth is, that the Kings of *England* in all Ages had been powerful enough to make an abſolute Conqueſt of *Ireland*, if their whole Power had been employed in that Enterprize: But ſtill there aroſe ſundry Occaſions which divided and diverted their Power ſome other way.

Let us therefore take a brief View of the ſeveral Impediments which aroſe in every King's time ſince the firſt Overture of the Conqueſt, whereby they were ſo employed and buſied, as they could not intend the final Conqueſt of *Ireland*.

KING *Henry* the Second was no ſooner returned out of *Ireland*, but all his four Sons conſpired with his Enemies, roſe in Arms, and moved War againſt him, both in *France* and in *England*.

This unnatural Treaſon of his Sons did the King expreſs in an Emblem painted in his Chamber at *Wincheſter*, wherein was an Eagle with three Eaglets tiring on her Breaſt, and the fourth pecking at one of her Eyes. And the truth is, theſe ungracious Practices of his Sons did impeach his Journey to the Holy Land, which he had once

once vowed, vexed him all the Days of his Life, and brought his gray Hairs with Sorrow to the Grave. Beſides, this King having given the Lordſhip of *Ireland* to *John*, his youngeſt Son, his Ingratitude afterwards made the King careleſs to ſettle him in the quiet and abſolute Poſſeſſion of that kingdom.

Richard the Firſt, who ſucceeded *Henry* the Second in the kingdom of *England*, had leſs Reaſon to bend his Power towards the Conqueſt of this Land, which was given in Perpetuity to the Lord *John*, his Brother: and therefore, went he in Perſon to the Holy War; by which Journey, and his Captivity in *Auſtria*, and the heavy Ranſom that he paid for his Liberty, he was hindred, and utterly diſabled to purſue any ſo great an Action as the Conqueſt of *Ireland*; and after his delivery and return, hardly was he able to maintain a Frontier War in *Normandy*, where by hard Fortune he loſt his Life.

King *John*, his Brother, had greateſt Reaſon to proſecute the War of *Ireland*, becauſe the Lordſhip thereof was the portion of his Inheritance, given unto him when he was called *John Sans-Terre*: Therefore, he made two Journeys thither; one, when he was Earl of *Moreton*, and very young, about twelve Years of Age; the other, when he was King, in the twelfth Year of his Reign. In the firſt, his own Youth, and his youthful Company, *Roboam*'s Counſellors, made him hazard the Loſs of all that his Father had won: But in the latter, he ſhewed a Reſolution to recover the entire kingdom, in taking the Submiſſions of all the *Iriſhry*, and ſettling the Eſtates of the *Engliſh*, and giving Order for the building of many Caſtles and Forts, whereof ſome remain until this day. But he came to the Crown of *England* by a defeaſible Title, ſo as he was never well ſettled in the Hearts of the People, which drew him the ſooner back out of *Ireland* into *England*: Where ſhortly after he fell into ſuch trouble and diſtreſs, the Clergy curſing him on the one ſide, and the Barons rebelling againſt him on the other, as he became ſo far unable to return to the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, as beſides the Forfeiture of the Territories

ritories in *France*, he did in a manner loſe both the kingdoms; for he ſurrendred both to the Pope, and took them back again to hold in Fee-farm; which brought him into ſuch hatred at home, and ſuch contempt abroad, as all his Life-time after, he was poſſeſt rather with Fear of loſing his Head, than with Hope of reducing the kingdom of *Ireland*.

During the Infancy of *Henry* the Third, the Barons were troubled in expelling the *French*, whom they had drawn in againſt King *John*. But this Prince was no ſooner come to his Majority, but the Barons raiſed a long and cruel War againſt him.

Into theſe troubled Waters the Biſhops of *Rome* did caſt their Nets, and drew away all the Wealth of the Realm, by their Proviſions and infinite Exactions; whereby the kingdom was ſo impoveriſhed as the King was ſcarce able to feed his own Houſhold and Train, much leſs to nouriſh Armies for the Conqueſt of Foreign kingdoms. And although he had given this Land to the Lord *Edward*, his eldeſt Son, yet could not that worthy Prince ever find Means or Opportunity to viſit this kingdom in Perſon. For, from the time he was able to bear Arms, he ſerved continually againſt the Barons, by whom he was taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Lewes*; and when the Rebellion was appeaſed, he made a Journey to the Holy Land (an Employment which in thoſe days diverted all Chriſtian Princes from performing any great Actions in *Europe*) from whence he was returned when the Crown of *England* deſcended upon him.

This King *Edward* the Firſt, who was a Prince adorned with all Virtues, did in the managing of his Affairs, ſhew himſelf a right good Husband, who being Owner of a Lordſhip ill husbanded, doth firſt encloſe and manure his Demeaſnes near his principal Houſe, before he doth improve his Waſtes afar off. Therefore, he began firſt to eſtabliſh the Common-wealth of *England*, by making many excellent Laws, and inſtituting the Form of Publick Juſtice, which remaineth to this day. Next, he fully ſubdued and reduced the Dominion of *Wales*; then by

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his Power and Authority he ſettled the kingdom of *Scotland*; and laſtly, he ſent a Royal Army into *Gaſcoigne*, to recover the Dutchy of *Aquitain*. Theſe four great Actions did take up all the Reign of this Prince. And therefore, we find not in any Record that this King tranſmitted any Forces into *Ireland*; but on the other ſide, we find it recorded, both in the Annals, and in the Pipe-Rolls of this kingdom, that three ſeveral Armies were raiſed of the King's Subjects in *Ireland*, and tranſported one into *Scotland*, another into *Wales*, and the third into *Gaſcoigne*; and that ſeveral Aids were levied here for the ſetting forth of thoſe Armies.

The Son and Succeſſor of this excellent Prince was *Edward* the Second, who, much againſt his Will, ſent one ſmall Army into *Ireland*; not with a purpoſe to finiſh the Conqueſt, but to guard the Perſon of his Minion, *Piers Gaveſton*, who being baniſhed out of *England*, was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, that ſo his Exile might ſeem more honourable.

He was no ſooner arrived here, but he made a Journey into the Mountains of *Dublin*, brake and ſubdued the Rebels there, built *New-Caſtle* in the *Birnes* Country, and repaired *Caſtle-Kevin*; and after paſſed up into *Munſter* and *Thomond*, performing every where great Service, with much Virtue and Valour. But the King, who could not live without him, revok'd him within leſs than a Year: After which time the Invaſion of the *Scots*, and Rebellion of the Barons, did not only diſable this King to be a Conqueror, but deprived him both of his kingdom and life. And when the *Scottiſh* Nation had over-run all this Land under the Conduct of *Edward le Bruce* (who ſtiled himſelf King of *Ireland*) *England* was not then able to ſend either Men or Money to ſave this kingdom: Only *Roger de Mortimer*, then Juſtice of *Ireland*, arrived at *Youghall*, *cum* 38. *milit.* ſaith Friar *Clinn* in his Annals.

But *Bremingham*, *Verdon*, *Stapleton*, and ſome other private Gentlemen, roſe out with the Commons of *Meath* and *Uriel*, and at *Fagher* near *Dundalk*, a fatal Place to the

the Enemies of the Crown of *England*, overthrew a potent Army of them: *Et ſic* (ſaith the red Book of the Exchequer, wherein the Victory was briefly recorded) *per manus communis populi, & dextram Dei deliberatur populus Dei a ſervitute machinata & præcogitata.*

In the time of King *Edward* the Third, the Impediments of the Conqueſt of *Ireland* are ſo notorious, as I ſhall not need to expreſs them; to wit, the War which the King had with the Realms of *Scotland* and *France*: but eſpecially the Wars of *France*, which were almoſt continual for the ſpace of forty Years: And indeed, *France* was a fairer Mark to ſhoot at than *Ireland*, and could better reward the Conqueror. Beſides, it was an Inheritance newly deſcended upon the King; and therefore he had great Reaſon to bend all his Power, and ſpend all his Time and Treaſure in the Recovery thereof. And this is the true Cauſe why *Edward* the Third ſent no Army into *Ireland* till the thirty ſixth Year of his Reign, when the Lord *Lionel* brought over a Regiment of 1500 Men, as is before expreſſed: Which that wiſe and warlike Prince did not tranſmit as a competent Power to make a full Conqueſt, but as an honourable Retinue for his Son; and withal, to enable him to recover ſome part of his Earldom of *Ulſter*, which was then overrun with the *Iriſh*. But on the other part, though the *Engliſh* Colonies were much degenerate in this King's time, and had loſt a great part of their Poſſeſſions; yet lying at the Siege of *Callais*, he ſent for a Supply of Men out of *Ireland*, which were tranſported under the Conduct of the Earl of *Kildare* and *Fulco de la Freyn*, in the Year 1347.

And now are we come again to the time of King *Richard* the Second, who for the firſt ten Years of his Reign was a Minor, and much diſquieted with popular Commotions; and after that, was more troubled with the Factions that aroſe between his Minions and the Princes of the Blood. But at laſt he took a Reſolution to finiſh the Conqueſt of this Realm; and to that end he made two Royal Voyages hither: Upon the firſt he

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was deluded by the feigned Submiſſions of the *Iriſh*; but upon the latter, when he was fully bent to proſecute the War with Effect, he was diverted and drawn from hence by the return of the Duke of *Lancaſter* into *England*, and the general Defection of the whole Realm.

As for *Henry* the Fourth, he being an Intruder upon the Crown of *England*, was hindred from all Foreign Actions, by ſundry Conſpiracies and Rebellions at home, moved by the Houſe of *Northumberland* in the North; by the Dukes of *Surrey* and *Exeter* in the South; and by *Owen Glendour* in *Wales*; ſo as he ſpent his ſhort Reign in eſtabliſhing and ſettling himſelf in the quiet Poſſeſſion of *England*, and had neither Leiſure nor Opportunity to undertake the final Conqueſt of *Ireland*. Much leſs could *Henry* the Fifth perform that Work? For in the ſecond Year of his Reign he tranſported an Army into *France*, for the Recovery of that kingdom; and drew over to the Siege of *Harfleur* the Prior of *Kilmainham* with 1500 *Iriſh*; in which great Action this victorious Prince ſpent the reſt of his Life.

And after his Death the two noble Princes, his Brothers, the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Gloceſter*, who during the Minority of King *Henry* the Sixth had the Government of the kingdoms of *England* and *France*, did employ all their Counſels and Endeavours to perfect the Conqueſt of *France*, the greater part whereof being gained by *Henry* the Fifth, and retained by the Duke of *Bedford*, was again loſt by King *Henry* the Sixth, a manifeſt Argument of his Diſability to finiſh the Conqueſt of this Land. But when the Civil War between the two Houſes was kindled, the Kings of *England* were ſo far from reducing all the *Iriſh* under their Obedience, as they drew out of *Ireland*, to ſtrengthen their Parties, all the Nobility and Gentry deſcended of *Engliſh* Race; which gave Opportunity to the *Iriſhry* to invade the Lands of the *Engliſh* Colonies, and did hazard the loſs of the whole kingdom: For, though the Duke of *York* did, while he lived in *Ireland*, carry himſelf reſpectively towards all the Nobility, to win the general Love of all, bearing equal Favour to the

the *Geraldines* and the *Butlers* (as appeared at the Chriſtning of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who was born in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, where he made both the Earl of *Kildare* and the Earl of *Ormonde* his Goſſips:) And having Occaſion divers times to paſs into *England*, he left the Sword with *Kildare* at one time, and with *Ormonde* at another: And when he loſt his Life at *Wakefield*, there were ſlain with him divers of both thoſe Families. Yet afterwards, theſe two noble Houſes of *Ireland* did ſeverally follow the two Royal Houſes of *England*; the *Geraldines* adhering to the Houſe of *York*, and the *Butlers* to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. Whereby it came to paſs, that not only the principal Gentlemen of both thoſe Sirnames, but all their Friends and Dependants did paſs into *England*, leaving their Lands and Poſſeſſions to be over-run by the *Iriſh*. Theſe Impediments, or rather Impoſſibilities of finiſhing the Conqueſt of *Ireland* did continue till the Wars of *Lancaſter* and *York* were ended, which was about the twelfth Year of King *Edward* the Fourth.

Thus hitherto the Kings of *England* were hindred from finiſhing this Conqueſt by great and apparent Impediments: *Henry* the Second by the Rebellion of his Sons: King *John*, *Henry* the Third, and *Edward* the Second, by the Barons Wars: *Edward* the Firſt by his Wars in *Wales* and *Scotland*: *Edward* the Third and *Henry* the Fifth by the Wars of *France*: *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Sixth, and *Edward* the Fourth, by domeſtick Contention for the Crown of *England* it ſelf.

But the Fire of the Civil War being utterly quenched, and King *Edward* the Fourth ſettled in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*, what did then hinder that Warlike Prince from reducing of *Ireland* alſo? Firſt, the whole Realm of *England* was miſerably waſted, depopulated and impoveriſhed by the late Civil Diſſenſions; yet as ſoon as it had recovered it ſelf with a little Peace and Reſt, this King raiſed an Army, and revived the Title of *France* again: Howbeit, this Army was no

ſooner

ſooner tranſmitted and brought into the Field, but the two Kings alſo were brought to an Interview: Whereupon, partly by the fair and white Promiſes of *Lewis* the Eleventh, and partly by the Corruption of ſome of King *Edward*'s Minions, the *Engliſh* Forces were broken and diſmiſſed, and King *Edward* returned into *England*; where ſhortly after finding himſelf deluded and abuſed by the *French*, he died with Melancholy, and Vexation of Spirit.

I omit to ſpeak of *Richard* the Uſurper, who never got the quiet Poſſeſſion of *England*, but was caſt out by *Henry* the Seventh within two Years and an half after his Uſurpation.

And for King *Henry* the Seventh himſelf, though he made that happy Union of the two Houſes, yet for more than half the ſpace of his Reign there were walking Spirits of the Houſe of *York*, as well in *Ireland* as in *England*, which he could not conjure down without the Expence of ſome Blood and Treaſure: But in his latter times he did wholly ſtudy to improve the Revenues of the Crown in both kingdoms, with an Intent to provide Means for ſome great Action which he intended: which doubtleſs, if he had lived, would rather have proved a Journey into *France*, than into *Ireland*, becauſe, in the Eyes of all Men, it was a fairer Enterprize.

Therefore King *Henry* the Eighth, in the beginning of his Reign, made a Voyage Royal into *France*, wherein he ſpent the greateſt part of that Treaſure which his Fathers had frugally reſerved, perhaps for the like purpoſe: In the latter end of his Reign he made the like Journey, being enrich'd with the Revenues of the Abby Lands: But in the middle time between theſe two Attempts, the great alteration which is made in the State Eccleſiaſtical, cauſed him to ſtand upon his Guard at home; the Pope having ſollicited all the Princes of Chriſtendom to revenge his Quarrel in that Behalf. And thus was King *Henry* the Eighth detained and diverted from the abſolute reducing of the kingdom of *Ireland*.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, the Infancy of King *Edward* the Sixth, and the Coverture of Queen *Mary*, (which are both Non-abilities in the Law) did in Fact diſable them to accompliſh the Conqueſt of *Ireland*.

So as now this great Work did remain to be perform-ed by Queen *Elizabeth*; who though ſhe was diverted by ſuppreſſing the open Rebellion in the North; by pre-venting divers ſecret Conſpiracies againſt her Perſon; by giving Aids to the *French* and States of the *Low Coun-tries*; by maintaining a Naval War with *Spain*, for ma-ny Years together: Yet the ſundry Rebellions, joyned with Foreign Invaſions upon this Iſland, whereby it was in danger to be utterly loſt, and to be poſſeſſed by the Enemies of the Crown of *England*, did quicken her Ma-jeſty's Care for the Preſervation thereof; and to that end, from time to time during her Reign, ſhe ſent over ſuch Supplies of Men and Treaſure, as did ſuppreſs the Re-bels, and repel the Invaders. Howbeit, before the tranſ-mitting of the laſt great Army, the Forces ſent over by Queen *Elizabeth* were not of ſufficient Power to break and ſubdue all the *Iriſhry*, and to reduce and reform the whole kingdom; but when the general Defection came, which came not without a ſpecial Providence for the fi-nal Good of that kingdom (though the ſecond Cauſes were the faint Proſecution of the War againſt *Tirone*, the Practices of Prieſts and Jeſuits, and the Expectation of the Aids from *Spain*:) Then the extreme Peril of lo-ſing the kingdom; the Diſhonour and Danger that might thereby grow to the Crown of *England*; together with a juſt Diſdain conceived by that great-minded Queen, that ſo wicked and ungrateful a Rebel ſhould prevail againſt her, who had ever been victorious againſt all her Ene-mies, did move, and almoſt enforce her to ſend over that mighty Army: And did withal enflame the Hearts of the Subjects of *England*, chearfully to contribute to-wards the maintaining thereof, a Million of Sterling Pounds at leaſt: Which was done with a purpoſe only to Save, and not to gain a kingdom; to keep and re-tain that Sovereignty which the Crown of *England* had

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in *Ireland* (ſuch as it was) and not to recover a more absolute Dominion. *But, as it falleth out many times that when a Houſe is on fire, the Owner, to ſave it from burning, pulleth it down to the Ground; but that pulling down doth give Occaſion of building it up again in a better form*: So theſe laſt Wars, which to ſave the kingdom, did utterly break and deſtroy this People, produced a better Effect than was at firſt expected: For, every Rebellion, when it is ſuppreſt, doth make the Subject weaker and the Prince ſtronger; ſo, this general Revolt when it was overcome, did produce a general Obedience and Reformation of all the *Iriſhry*, which ever before had been diſobedient and unreformed; and thereupon enſued the final and full Conqueſt of *Ireland*.

And thus much may ſuffice to be ſpoken touching the Defects in the Martial Affairs, and the weak and faint Proſecution of the War; and of the ſeveral Impediments or Employments, which did hinder or divert every King of *England* ſucceſſively, from reducing *Ireland* to their abſolute Subjection.

It now remaineth, that we ſhew the Defects of the Civil Policy and Government, which gave no leſs Impediment to the Perfection of this Conqueſt.

The firſt of that kind doth conſiſt in this, *That the Crown of* England *did not from the beginning give Laws to the* Iriſhry; whereas, to give Laws to a conquered People is the principal Mark and Effect of a perfect Conqueſt: For, albeit King *Henry* the Second, before his return out of *Ireland*, held a Council or Parliament at *Lifmore*, *Ubi Leges Angliæ ab omnibus ſunt gratanter receptæ, & Juratoria Cautione præſtita confirmatæ*, as *Matth. Paris* writeth.

And though King *John* in the twelfth Year of his Reign, did eſtabliſh the *Engliſh* Laws and Cuſtoms here, and placed Sheriffs and other Miniſters to rule and govern the People, according to the Law of *England*: And to that end, *Ipſe duxit ſecum viros diſcretos & legis peritos, quorum communi conſilio ſtatuit & præcepit, leges Anglicanas teneri in Hibernia, &c.* as we find it recorded among

the

e Patent Rolls in the Tower, 11 *Hen.* 3. *m.* 3. Though kewiſe King *Henry* the Third did grant and tranſmit the e Charter of Liberties to his Subjects of *Ireland*, as mſelf and his Father had granted to the Subjects of gland, as appeareth by another Record in the Tower, Hen. 3. *Pat. m.* 13. And afterwards, by a ſpecial rit did command the Lord Juſtice of *Ireland*, *Quod rocatis Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Comitibus, Baronibus, c. Coram eis legi faceret Chartam Regis Johannis; am ipſe legi fecit & jurari à Magnatibus Hiberniæ, de gibus & Conſtitutionibus Angliæ obſervandis, & quod le- illas teneant & obſerveant.* 12 *Hen.* 3. *Clauſ. m.* 8. nd after that again, the ſame King by Letters Patents nder the Great Seal of *England*, did confirm the Eſta- iſhment of the *Engliſh* Laws made by King *John*, in is Form, *Quia pro Communi utilitate terræ Hiberniæ, unitate terrarum, de Communi Conſilio proviſum ſit, ud omnes leges & conſuetudines quæ in regno Angliæ te- ntur, in Hibernia teneantur, & eadem terra ejuſdem le- bus ſubjaceat, ac per eaſdem regatur, ſicut Johannes ux, cum illic eſſet, Statuit & firmiter mandavit; ideo ulumus quod omnia brevia de Communi Jure, quæ cur- nt in Anglia, ſimiliter currant in Hibernia, ſub novo ſi- llo noſtro, &c. Teſte meipſo apud Woodſtock, &c.* Which onfirmation is found among the Patent Rolls in the ower, *Anno* 30. *Hen.* 3. Notwithſtanding, it is evi- nt by all the Records of this Kingdom, that only the *ngliſh* Colonies, and ſome few Septs of the *Iriſhry*, hich were Enfranchiſed by ſpecial Charters, were ad- itted to the Benefit and Protection of the Laws of *ngland*; and that the *Iriſh* generally were reputed Aliens, r rather Enemies to the Crown of *England*; inſomuch s they were not only diſabled to bring any Actions, but ey were ſo far out of the Protection of the Law, as it as often adjudged no Felony to kill a meer *Iriſh* Man in he time of Peace.

That the meer *Iriſh* were reputed Aliens, appeareth y ſundry Records, wherein Judgment is demanded, if ey ſhall be anſwered in Actions brought by them: And

and likewiſe by the Charters of Denization, which in all Ages were purchaſed by them.

In the Common Plea Rolls of 28 *Edward* the Third (which are yet preſerved in *Bremingham*'s Tower) this Caſe is adjudged. *Simon Neal* brought an Action of Treſpaſs againſt *William Newlagh*, for breaking his Cloſe in *Clandalkin* in the County of *Dublin*; the Defendant doth plead, that the Plaintiff is *Hibernicus, & non de quinque ſanguinibus*; and demandeth Judgment, if he ſhall be anſwered. The Plaintiff replieth, *Quod ipſe eſt de quinque ſanguinibus, viz. De les Oneiles de Ulton, qui per Conceſſionem progenitorum Domini Regis; Libertatibus Angliæ gaudere debent & utuntur, & pro liberis hominibus reputantur.* The Defendant rejoyneth, that the Plaintiff is not of the *Oneals* of *Ulſter*, *Nec de quinque ſanguinibus*. And thereupon they are at Iſſue. Which being found for the Plaintiff, he had Judgment to recover his Damages againſt the Defendant. By this Record it appeareth that five principal Bloods, or Septs, of the *Iriſhry*, were by ſpecial Grace enfranchiſed and enabled to take Benefit of the Laws of *England*; and that the Nation of O *Neal* in *Ulſter*, was one of the five. And in the like Caſe, of *Edward* the ſecond, among the Plea-Rolls in *Bremingham*'s Tower: All the five Septs or Bloods, *Qui gaudeant lege Anglicana quoad brevia portenda*, are expreſs'd; namely, *Oneil de Ultonia*; O *Molaghlin de Minia*; O *Connoghor de Connacia*; O *Brin de Thotmonia*; & *Mac Murrogh de Lagenia*: And yet I find, that O *Neal* himſelf long after, *viz.* in 20 *Edward* the Fourth, upon his Marriage with a Daughter of the Houſe of *Kildare*, (to ſatisfie the Friends of the Lady) was made Denizen by a ſpecial Act of Parliament, 20 *Edw.* 4. *C.* 8.

Again, in the 29th of *Edw.* 1. before the Juſtices in Eyre at *Drogheda*, *Thomas le Botteler* brought an Action of *Detinue* againſt *Robert de Almain* for certain Goods. The Defendant pleadeth, *Quod non tenetur ei inde reſpondere, eo quod eſt Hibernicus, & non de libero ſanguine. Et prædictus Thomas dicit, quod Anglicus eſt, & hoc petit quod*

quod inquiratur per patriam, Ideo fiat inde jurat, &c. Ju-
rat, dicunt ſuper Sacrament' ſuum, quod prædict' Thomas
Anglicus eſt, ideo conſideratum eſt quod recuperet, &c.

These two Records among many other, do ſufficiently ſhew, that the *Iriſh* were diſabled to bring any Actions at the Common Law. Touching their Denizations, they were common in every King's Reign, ſince *Henry* the Second, and were never out of uſe, till his Majeſty that now is, came to the Crown.

Among the Pleas of the Crown of 4 *Edw.* 2. we find a Confirmation made by *Edward* the firſt, of a Charter of Denization granted by *Henry* the ſecond, to certain *Oſtmen*, or Eaſterlings, who were Inhabitants of *Waterford* long before *Henry* the Second attempted the Conqueſt of *Ireland*. *Edwardus Dei gratia, &c. Juſtitiario ſuo Hiberniæ ſalutem: Quia per inſpectionem Chartæ Dom. Hen. Reg. filii imperatricis quondam Dom. Hiberniæ proavi noſtri nobis conſtat, quod Oſtmanni de Waterford legem Anglicorum in Hibernia habere, & ſecundum ipſam legem judicari & deduci debent: vobis mandamus quod Gilliſtriſt Mac Gillimurrii. Willielmum & Johannem Mac Gilmurrii & alios Oſtmannos de Civitate & Comitatu Waterford, qui de prædictis Oſtmannis prædict. Dom. Henr. proavi noſtri originem duxerunt, legem Anglicorum in partibus illis juxta tenorem Chartæ prædict. habere, & eos ſecundum ipſam legem (quantum in nobis eſt, deduci faciatis) donec aliud de Conſilio noſtro inde duxerimus ordinand. In cujus rei, &c. Teſte meipſo apud Acton Burnell. 15 Octobris, Anno Regni noſtri undecimo.*

Again, among the Patent Rolls of 1 *Edward* the Fourth, remaining in the Chancery here, we find a Patent of Denization granted the 13th of *Edward* the firſt, in theſe Words, *Edwardus Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, Dom. Hiberniæ, Dux Aquitaniæ, &c. Omnibus Ballivis & fidelibus ſuis in Hibernia, Salutem: Volentes Chriſtophero filio Donaldi Hibernico gratiam facere ſpecialem, concidimus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, quod idem Chriſtopherus hanc habeat libertatem, (viz.) Quod ipſe de cætero in Hibernia utatur legibus Anglicanis, & prohibemus ne quiſquam contra*

tra hanc concessionem nostram dictum Christopherum vexet in aliquo vel perturbet. In cujus rei Testimonium, &c. Teste meipso apud Westm. 27. die Junii, Anno Regni nostri 13.

In the same Roll we find another Charter of Denization, granted in the first of *Edward* the Fourth, in a more large and beneficial Form. *Edw. Dei Gratia, &c. Omnibus Ballivis, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod nos volentes Willielmum O Bolgir capellanum de Hibernica natione existentem, favore prosequi gratioso, de gratia nostra speciali, &c. Concessimus eidem Willielmo, quod ipse liberi status, & liberæ conditionis, & ab omni servitute Hibernica liber & quietus, & quod ipse legibus Anglicanis in omnibus & per omnia uti possit & gaudere, eodem modo, quo homines Anglici infra dictam terram eas habent, & iis gaudent & utuntur, quodque ipse respondeat, & respondeatur, in quibuscumque Curiis nostris; ac omnimod. terras, tenementa, redditus, & servitia perquirere possit sibi & hæredibus suis in perpetuum, &c.*

If I should collect out of the Records, all the Charters of this kind, I should make a Volume thereof; but these may suffice to shew, that the meer *Irish* were not reputed free Subjects; nor admitted to the benefit of the Laws of *England*, until they had purchased Charters of *Denization*.

Lastly, the meer *Irish* were not only accounted *Aliens*, but *Enemies*; and altogether out of the Protection of the Law; so as it was no Capital Offence to kill them; and this is manifest by many Records. At a Goal-delivery at *Waterford*, before *John Wogan*, Lord Justice of *Ireland*, the Fourth of *Edward* the second, we find it recorded among the Pleas of the Crown of that Year. *Quod Robertus le Wayleys rectatus de morte Johannis filii Juor Mac Gillemory felonice per ipsum interfecti, &c. Venit & bene cognovit quod prædictum Johannem interfecit; dicit tamen quod per ejus interfectionem feloniam committere non potuit, quia dicit, quod prædictus Johannes fuit purus Hibernicus, & non de libero sanguine, &c. Et cum Dominus dicti Johannis (cujus Hibernicus idem Johannes fuit) die quo inter-*

fectus

fectus fuit, ſolutionem pro ipſo Johanne Hibernico ſuo ſic interfecto petere voluerit, ipſe Robertus paratus erat ad reſpondend' de ſolutione prædict. prout Juſtitia ſuadebit. Et ſuper hoc venit quidam Johannes le Poer, & dicit pro Domino Rege, quod prædict. Johannes filius Juor Mac Gillemory, & anteceſſores ſui de cognomine prædict. à tempore quo Dominus Henricus filius imperatricis, quondam Dominus Hiberniæ, Tritavus Domini regis nunc, fuit in Hibernia, legem Anglicorum in Hibernia uſque ad hunc diem habere, & ſecundum ipſam legem judicari & deduci debent. And ſo pleaded the Charter of Denization granted to the *Ooſtmen* recited before; all which appeareth at large in the ſaid Record: Wherein we may note, that the killing of an *Iriſhman* was not puniſhed by our Law as Manſlaughter, which is Felony, and Capital, (for our Law did neither protect his Life, nor revenge his Death) but by a Fine or pecuniary Puniſhment, which is called an *Erick*, according to the *Brehon*, or *Iriſh-Law*.

Again, at a Goal-delivery, before the ſame Lord Juſtice at *Limerick*, in the Roll of the ſame Year, we find that *Willielmus filius Rogeri rogatus de morte Rogeri de Canteton felonice per ipſum interfecti, venit & dicit; quod feloniam per interfectionem prædictam committere non potuit, quia dicit quod prædict. Rogerus Hibernic. eſt, & non de libero ſanguine; dicit etiam quod prædict. Rogerus fuit de Cognomine de Ohederiſcal & non de Cognomine de Cantetons, & de hoc ponit ſe ſuper patriam, &c. Et Juratidicunt ſuper Sacram. ſuum, quod prædictus Rogerus Hibernicus fuit & de cognomine de Ohederiſcal & pro Hibernico habebatur tota vita ſua: ideo prædict. Willielmus quoad feloniam prædict. quietus. Sed quia prædictus Rogerus Ohederiſcal fuit Hibernicus Domini Regis, prædict. Willielmus recommittatur Goalæ, quouſque plegios invenerit de quinque marcis ſolvendis Domino Regi pro ſolutione prædicti Hibernici.*

But on the other ſide, if the Jury had found, that the Party ſlain had been of *Engliſh* Race and Nation, it had been adjudg'd Felony; as appeareth by a Record of 29th of *Edward* the Firſt, in the Crown-Office here. *Coram*

Waltero Lenfant & ſociis ſuis Juſtitiariis itinerantibus apud Drogheda in Comitatu Louth. Johannes Laurens indictat. de morte Galfridi Donedal venit & non dedicit mortem prædictam: ſed dicit quod prædict. Galfridus fuit Hibernicus, & non de libero ſanguine, & de bono & malo ponit ſe ſuper patriam, &c. Et jurat. dicunt ſuper Sacram. ſuum, quod prædict. Galfridus Anglicus fuit, & ideo prædict. Johannes culpabilis eſt de morte Galfridi prædict. ideo ſuſpend. Catalla 13 s. *unde Hugo de Clinton Vicecom. reſpondet.*

Hence it is, that in all the Parliament Rolls which are extant from the Fortieth Year of *Edward* the third, when the Statutes of *Kilkenny* were enacted, till the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, we find the degenerate and diſobedient *Engliſh* called Rebels; but the *Iriſh* which were not in the King's Peace, are called Enemies. *Statute Kilkenny. c.* 1, 10, 11. 11 *Hen.* 4. *c.* 24. 10 *Hen.* 6. *c.* 1. 18. 18 *Hen.* 6. *c.* 4. 5 *Edward* 4. *c.* 6. 10 *Hen.* 7. *c.* 17. All theſe Statutes ſpeak of *Engliſh Rebels*, and *Iriſh Enemies*; as if the *Iriſh* had never been in Condition of Subjects, but always out of the Protection of the Law; and were indeed in worſe caſe than *Aliens* of any foreign Realm that was in Amity with the Crown of *England*. For, by divers heavy Penal Laws, the *Engliſh* were forbidden to Marry, to Foſter, to make Goſſips with the *Iriſh*; or to have any Trade or Commerce in their Markets or Fairs; nay, there was a Law made no longer ſince than the 28th Year of *Henry* the Eighth, that the *Engliſh* ſhould not marry with any Perſon of *Iriſh* Blood tho' he had gotten a Charter of Denization, unleſs he had done both Homage and Fealty to the King in the Chancery, and were alſo bound by Recognizance with Sureties to continue a loyal Subject. Whereby it is manifeſt, that ſuch as had the Government of *Ireland* under the Crown of *England*, did intend to make a perpetual Separation and Enmity between the *Engliſh* and the *Iriſh*; pretending (no doubt) that the *Engliſh* ſhould in the end root out the *Iriſh*; which the *Engliſh* not being able to do, did cauſe a perpetual War between the Nations; which

continued Four hundred and odd Years, and would have laſted to the World's End; if in the end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, the *Iriſhry* had not been broken and conquer'd by the Sword: And ſince the beginning of his Majeſty's Reign, had not been protected and governed by the Law.

But perhaps, the *Iriſhry* in former times did wilfully refuſe to be ſubject to the Laws of *England*, and would not be Partakers of the benefit thereof, though the Crown of *England* did deſire; and therefore, they were reputed *Aliens*, *Out-Laws*, and *Enemies*. Aſſuredly, the contrary doth appear, as well by the Charters of Denization purchaſed by the *Iriſh* in all Ages, as by a Petition preferr'd by them to the King, *Anno* 2. *Edward* the third; deſiring that an Act might paſs in *Ireland*, whereby all the *Iriſhry* might be enabled to uſe and enjoy the Laws of *England*, without purchaſing of particular Denizations: Upon which Petition, the King directed a ſpecial Writ to the Lord Juſtice; which is found amongſt the Cloſe-Rolls in the Tower of *London*, in this form: *Rex dilecto & fideli ſuo Johanni Darcile Mepieu Juſtic. ſuo Hiberniæ, Salutem. Ex parte quorundam hominum de Hibernia nobis extitit ſupplicatum, ut per Statutum inde faciendum concedere velimus, quod omnes Hibernici qui voluerint, legibus utatur Anglicanis: ita quod neceſſe non habeant ſuper hoc Chartas alienas à nobis impetrare: nos igitur Certiorari volentes ſi ſine alieno præjudicio præmiſſis annuere valeamus, vobis mandamus quod voluntatem magnatum terræ illius in proximo Parliamento noſtro ibidem tenendo ſuper hoc cum diligentia perſcrutari facias: & de eo quod inde inveneritis unà cum Conſilio & adviſamento nobis certificetis*, &c. Whereby I collect, that the great Lords of *Ireland* had informed the King that the *Iriſhry* might not be Naturalized, without damage and prejudice either to themſelves, or to the Crown.

But I am well aſſured, that the *Iriſhry* did deſire to be admitted to the benefit of the Law, not only in this Petition exhibited to King *Edward* the Third; but by all their Submiſſions made to King *Richard* the Second,

and to the Lord *Thomas* of *Lancaſter* before the Wars of the Two Houſes; and afterwards to the Lord *Leonard Grey*, and Sir *Anthony Saint-Leger*, when King *Henry* the Eighth began to reform this Kingdom. In particular, the *Birns* of the Mountains, in 34th of *Henry* the Eighth, deſire that their Country might be made Shire-ground, and called the County of *Wicklow*: And in the 23d of *Henry* the Eighth, O *Donnel* doth covenant with Sir *William Skeffington*, *Quod ſi Dominus Rex velit reformare Hiberniam*, (whereof it ſhould ſeem he made ſome doubt) that he and his People would gladly be governed by the Laws of *England*. Only that ungrateful Traytor *Tirone*, tho' he had no colour or ſhadow of Title to that great Lordſhip, but only by Grant from the Crown, and by the Law of *England* (for by the *Iriſh* Law he had been ranked with the meaneſt of his Sept) yet in one of his Capitulations with the State, he required that no Sheriff might have Juriſdiction with *Tirone*, and conſequently that the Laws of *England* might not be executed there: Which Requeſt, was never before made by O *Neale*, or any other Lord of the *Iriſhry*, when they ſubmitted themſelves; but contrarywiſe they were humble Suitors to have the Benefit and Protection of the *Engliſh* Laws.

This then I note as a great defect in the civil Policy of this Kingdom, in that for the ſpace of Three Hundred and Fifty Years at leaſt after the Conqueſt firſt attempted, the *Engliſh* Laws were not communicated to the *Iriſh*, nor the Benefit and Protection thereof allow'd unto them, though they earneſtly deſir'd and ſought the ſame. For, as long as they were out of the Protection of the Law; ſo as every *Engliſhman* might oppreſs, ſpoil, and kill them without Controulment, how was it poſſible they ſhould be other than Out-laws and Enemies to the Crown of *England*? If the King would not admit them to the condition of Subjects, how could they learn to acknowledge and obey him as their Sovereign? When they might not converſe or commerce with any civil Men, nor enter into any Town or City without

without peril of their Lives; whither ſhould they fly but into the Woods and Mountains, and there live in a wild and barbarous manner? If the *Engliſh* Magiſtrates would not rule them by the Law which doth puniſh Treaſon, and Murder, and Theft, with Death; but leave them to be ruled by their own Lords and Laws, why ſhould they not embrace their own *Brehon* Law, which puniſheth no Offence but with a Fine or *Erick*? If the *Iriſh* be not permitted to purchaſe Eſtates of Freeholds or Inheritance, which might deſcend to their Children, according to the courſe of our Common Law, muſt they not continue their Cuſtom of *Taniſtrie*, which makes all their Poſſeſſions uncertain, and brings Confuſion, Babariſm, and Incivility? In a Word, if the *Engliſh* would neither in Peace govern them by the Law, nor could in War root them out by the Sword; muſt they not needs be Pricks in their Eyes, and Thorns in their Sides, till the World's End? and ſo the Conqueſt never be brought to Perfection.

But on the other ſide; if from the beginning the Laws of *England* had been eſtabliſhed, and the *Brehon* or *Iriſh* Law utterly aboliſhed, as well in the *Iriſh* Countries, as the *Engliſh* Colonies: If there had been no difference made between the Nations in point of Juſtice and Protection, but all had been governed by one equal, juſt, and honourable Law, as *Dido* ſpeaketh in *Virgil*; *Tros, Tyriuſve mihi nullo diſcrimine habetur.* If upon the firſt Submiſſion made by the *Iriſh* Lords to King *Henry* the Second; *Quem in Regem & Dominum receperunt*, ſaith *Matth. Paris*; or upon the ſecond Submiſſion made to King *John*, when, *Pluſquam viginti Reguli maximo timore perterriti homagium ei & fidelitatem fecerunt*, as the ſame Author writeth; or upon the third general Submiſſion made to King *Richard* the ſecond; when they did not only do Homage and Fealty, but bound themſelves by Indentures and Oaths (as is before expreſſed) to become and continue loyal Subjects to the Crown of *England*: If any of theſe three Kings, who came each of them twice in Perſon into this Kingdom, had upon

theſe Submiſſions of the *Iriſhry*, received them all, both Lords and Tenants, into their immediate Protection, divided their ſeveral Countries into Counties; made Sheriffs, Coroners, and Wardens of the Peace therein: ſent Juſtices itinerants half yearly into every part of the Kingdom, as well to puniſh Malefactors, as to hear and determine Cauſes between Party and Party, according to the Courſe of the Laws of *England*, taken Surrenders of their Lands and Territories, and granted Eſtates unto them, to hold by *Engliſh* Tenures; granted them Markets, Fairs, and other Franchiſes, and erected corporate Towns among them; (all which hath been performed ſince his Majeſty came to the Crown) aſſuredly the *Iriſh* Countries had long ſince been reformed and reduced to Peace, Plenty, and Civility, which are the Effects of Laws and good Government: they had builded Houſes, planted Orchards, and Gardens, erected Townſhips, and made Proviſion for their Poſterities; there had been a perfect Union betwixt the two Nations, and conſequently, a perfect Conqueſt of *Ireland*. For the Conqueſt is never perfect till the War be at an End, and the War is not at an end till there be Peace and Unity; and there can never be Unity and Concord in any one Kingdom, but where there is but one King, one Allegiance, and one Law.

True it is, that King *John* made twelve Shires in *Leinſter* and *Munſter*: namely, *Dublin*, *Kildare*, *Meath*, *Uriel*, *Catherlogh*, *Kilkenny*, *Wexford*, *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Limerick*, *Kerry*, and *Tipperary*: Yet theſe Counties did ſtretch no farther than the Lands of the *Engliſh* Colonies did extend. In them only were the *Engliſh* Laws publiſhed and put in Execution; and in them only did the itinerant Judges make their Circuits and Viſitations of Juſtice, and not in the Countries poſſeſſed by the *Iriſhry*, which contained two third parts of the Kingdom at leaſt. And therefore King *Edward* the Firſt, before the Court of Parliament was eſtabliſhed in *Ireland*, did tranſmit the Statutes of *England* in this Form: *Dominus Rex mandavit Breve ſuum in hæc verba*: *Edwardus Dei gratia*,

tia, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, &c. Cancellario ſuo Hiberniæ, Salutem. Quædam ſtatuta per nos de aſſenſu Prælatorum, Comitum, Baronum & Communitat. regni noſtri nuper apud Lincolne, & quædam alia ſtatuta poſtmodum apud Eborum facta, quæ in dicta terra noſtra Hiberniæ ad Communem utilitatem populi noſtri ejuſdem terræ obſervari volumus, vobis mittimus ſub ſigillo noſtro, mandantes quod ſtatuta illa indicta Cancellaria noſtra Cuſtoderi, ac in rotulis ejuſdem Cancellariæ irrotulari, & ad ſingulas placeas noſtras in terra noſtra Hiberniæ, & ſingulos Comitatus ejuſdem terræ mitti faciatis miniſtris noſtris placearum illarum, & Vicecomitibus dictorum Comitatum: mandantes, quod ſtatuta illa coram ipſis publicari & ea in omnibus in ſingulis Articulis ſuis obſervari firmiter faciatis. Teſte meipſo apud Nottingham &c. By which Writ, and by all the Pipe-Rolls of that time it is manifeſt, that the Laws of *England* were publiſhed and put in Execution only in the Counties, which were then made and limited, and not in the *Iriſh* Countries, which were neglected and left wild; and have but of late Years been divided into one and twenty Counties more.

Again, true it is that by the Statute of *Kilkenny*, enacted in this Kingdom, in the Fortieth Year of King *Edward* the Third, the *Brehon* Law was condemned and aboliſhed, and the Uſe and Practice thereof made High-Treaſon. But this Law extended to the *Engliſh* only, and not to the *Iriſh*: For the Law is penned in this form: Item, *Foraſmuch as the diverſity of Government by divers Laws in one Land, doth make diverſity of Liegeance and Debates between the People, It is accorded and eſtabliſhed, that hereafter no* Engliſhman *have debate with another* Engliſhman, *but according to the courſe of the Common Law; and that no* Engliſhman *be ruled in the definition of their Debates, by the March-Law, or the* Brehon Law, *which by reaſon ought not to be named a Law, but an evil Cuſtom; but that they be ruled as right is, by the Common Law of the Land, as the Lieges of our Sovereign Lord the King; And if any do to the contrary, and thereof be attainted, that he be taken and impriſoned, and judged*

ed as a Traytor: And that hereafter there be no diverſity of Ligeance between the Engliſh *born in* Ireland *and the* Engliſh *born in* England; *but that all be called and reputed* Engliſh, *and the Lieges of our Sovereign Lord the King*, &c. This Law was made only to reform the degenerate *Engliſh*, but there was no care taken for the Reformation of the meer *Iriſh*; no Ordinance, no Proviſion made for the aboliſhing of their barbarous Cuſtoms and Manners. Inſomuch as the Law then made for Apparel, and riding in Saddles, after the *Engliſh* Faſhion, is penal only to *Engliſh* Men, and not to the *Iriſh*. But the *Roman* State, which conquered ſo many Nations both barbarous and civil; and therefore knew by Experience, the beſt and readieſt way of making a perfect and abſolute Conqueſt, refuſed not to communicate their Laws to the rude aud barbarous People whom they had conquered; neither did they put them out of their Protection after they had once ſubmitted themſelves: But contrarywiſe, it is ſaid of *Julius Cæſar*: *Quâ, vicit, victos protegit, ille manu.* And again, of another Emperor:

Feciſti patriam diverſis gentibus unam,
Profuit invitis te dominante capi;
Dumque offers victis proprii conſortia juris,
Urbem feciſti, quod prius orbis erat.

And of *Rome* itſelf;

Hæc eſt, in gremium victos quæ ſola recepit,
Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit,
Matris, non dominæ, ritu; Civeſque vocavit,
Quos domuit, nexuſque pio longinqua revinxit.

Therefore (as *Tacitus* writeth) *Julius Agricola*, the *Roman* General in *Britany*, uſed this Policy to make a perfect Conqueſt of our Anceſtors, the ancient *Britains*; they were (ſaith he) rude and diſperſed; and therefore prone upon every Occaſion to make War, but to induce them by pleaſure to Quietneſs and Reſt, he exhorted them

them in private, and gave them helps in common, to build Temples, Houſes, and places of publick Reſort. The Noblemen's Sons he took and inſtructed in the liberal Sciences, &c. preferring the Wits of the *Britains* before the Students of *France*; as being now curious to attain the Eloquence of the *Roman* Language, whereas they lately rejected that Speech. After that, the *Roman* Attire grew to be in account, and the Gown to be in uſe among them; and ſo by little and little they proceeded to Curioſity and Delicacies in Buildings and Furniture of Houſhold; in Bathes, and exquiſite Banquets; and ſo being come to the heighth of Civility, they were thereby brought to an abſolute Subjection.

Likewiſe our *Norman* Conqueror, though he oppreſſed the *Engliſh* Nobility very ſore, and gave away to his Servitors the Lands and Poſſeſſions of ſuch as did oppoſe his firſt Invaſion, though he cauſed all his Acts of Council to be publiſhed in *French*; and ſome legal Proceedings and Pleadings to be framed and uſed in the ſame Tongue, as a Mark and Badge of a Conqueſt; yet he governed All, both *Engliſh* and *Normans*, by one and the ſame Law; which was the ancient and common Law of *England*, long before the Conqueſt. Neither did he deny any *Engliſhman* (that ſubmitted himſelf unto him) the Benefit of that Law, though it were againſt a *Norman* of the beſt Rank, and in greateſt Favour, as appeared in the notable Controverſy between *Warren* the *Norman*, and *Sherburne* of *Sherburne* Caſtle in *Norfolk*, for the Conqueror had given that Caſtle to *Warren*; yet when the Inheritors thereof had alledged before the King, that he never bear Arms againſt him; that he was his Subject, as well as the other, and that he did inherit and hold his Lands, by the rules of that Law, which the King had eſtabliſhed among all his Subjects; the King gave Judgment againſt *Warren*, and commanded that *Sherburne* ſhould hold his land in Peace. By this means, he obtained a peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom within few Years; whereas, if he had caſt all the *Engliſh* out of his Protection, and held them as *Aliens* and *Enemies* to the

Crown, the *Normans* (perhaps) might have ſpent as much Time in the Conqueſt of *England*, as the *Engliſh* have ſpent in the Conqueſt of *Ireland*.

The like prudent Courſe hath been obſerved in reducing of *Wales*; which was performed partly by King *Edward* the Firſt, and altogether finiſhed by King *Henry* the Eighth. For we find by the Statute of *Rutland*, made the 12th of *Edward* the Firſt, when the *Welſhmen* had ſubmitted themſelves, *De alto & Baſſo*, to that King, he did not reject and caſt them off, as Out-laws and Enemies, but cauſed their Laws and Cuſtoms to be examined, which were in many Points agreeable to the *Iriſh* or *Brehon* Law. *Quibus diligenter auditis & plenius intellectis, quaſdam illarum* (ſaith the King in that Ordinance) *Conſilio procerum delevimus*; *quaſdam permiſimus*; *quaſdam correximus*; *ac etiam quaſdam alias adjiciendas & faciend. decrevimus*; and ſo eſtabliſhed a Commonwealth among them, according to the Form of the *Engliſh* Government. After this, by reaſon of the ſundry Inſurrections of the Barons; the Wars in *France*, and the Diſſention between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, the State of *England* neglected or omitted the Execution of this Statute of *Rutland*; ſo as a great part of *Wales* grew wild and barbarous again. And therefore King *Henry* the Eighth, by the Statutes of 27 and 32 of his Reign, did revive and re-continue that noble Work begun by King *Edward* the Firſt, and brought it indeed to full Perfection; for he united the Dominion of *Wales* to the Crown of *England*, and divided it into Shires, and erected in every Shire, one Borough, as in *England*; and enabled them to ſend Knights and Burgeſſes to the Parliament; eſtabliſhed a Court of Preſidency, and ordained that Juſtices of Aſſize and Goal-delivery, ſhould make their Half-year Circuits there, as in *England*; made all the Laws and Statutes of *England*, in Force there; and among other *Welſh* Cuſtoms, aboliſhed that of *Gavel-kind*; whereby the Heirs-Females were utterly excluded, and the Baſtards did inherit, as well as the Legitimate, which is the very *Iriſh Cavel-kind*. By Means whereof that entire Country in a

ſhort

ſhort time was ſecurely ſettled in Peace and Obedience, and hath attained to that Civility of Manners, and Plenty of all Things, as now we find it not inferior to the beſt Parts of *England*.

I will therefore knit up this Point with theſe Concluſions; Firſt, that the Kings of *England*, which in former Ages attempted the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, being ill adviſed and counſelled by the great Men here, did not upon the Submiſſions of the *Iriſh*, communicate their Laws unto them, nor admit them to the State and Condition of Free-ſubjects: Secondly, that for the Space of 200 Years at leaſt, after the firſt Arrival of *Henry* the Second in *Ireland*, the *Iriſh* would gladly have embraced the Laws of *England*, and did earneſtly deſire the Benefit and Protection thereof; which being denied them, did of Neceſſity cauſe a continual bordering War between the *Engliſh* and the *Iriſh*. And Laſtly, if according to the Examples before recited, they had reduced as well the *Iriſh* Countries, as the *Engliſh* Colonies, under one Form of Civil Government (as now they are,) the Meers and Bounds of the Marches and Borders, had been long ſince worn out and forgotten, (for it is not fit, as *Cambrenſis* writeth) that a King of an Iſland ſhould have any Marches or Borders, (but the Four Seas) both Nations had been incorporated and united; *Ireland* had been entirely conquered, planted, and improved; and returned a rich Revenue to the Crown of *England*.

The next Error in the Civil Policy which hindred the Perfection of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, did conſiſt in the *Diſtribution* of the Lands and Poſſeſſions which were won and conquered from the *Iriſh*. For the *Scopes of Land* which were granted to the firſt Adventurers, *were too large*; and the *Liberties* and *Royalties*, which they obtained therein, *were too great for Subjects*; though it ſtood with Reaſon that they ſhould be rewarded liberally out of the Fruits of their own Labours, ſince they did *Militare propriis ſtipendiis*, and received no Pay from the Crown of *England*. Notwithſtanding there enſued divers Inconveniencies, that gave great Impediment to the Conqueſt.

Firſt,

Firſt, the Earl *Strongbow* was entituled to the whole Kingdom of *Leinſter*; partly by Invaſion, and partly by Marriage; albeit, he ſurrendred the ſame entirely to King *Henry* the Second his Soveraign; for that with his Licenſe he came over; and with the Aid of his Subjects, he had gained that great Inheritance; yet did the King re-grant back again to him and his Heirs all that Province, reſerving only the City of *Dublin*, and the Cantreds next adjoyning, with the Maritime Towns, and principal Forts and Caſtles. Next, the ſame King granted to *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, and *Miles Cogan*, the whole Kingdom of *Cork*, from *Liſmore* to the Sea. To *Philip Bruce*, he gave the whole Kingdom of *Limerick*, with the Donation of Biſhopricks, and Abbies (except the City, and one Cantred of Land adjoyning.) To Sir *Hugh de Lacy*, all Meath. To Sir *John de Courcy*, all *Ulſter*. *William Burke Fitz-Adelm*, the greateſt Part of *Conaught*. In like manner, Sir *Thomas de Clare*, obtained a Grant of all *Thomond*; and *Otho de Grandiſon* of all *Tipperary*; and *Robert le Poer*, of the Territory of *Waterford*, (the City it ſelf, and the Cantred of the Ooſtmen only excepted.) And thus was all *Ireland* Cantonized among ten Perſons of the *Engliſh* Nation; and though they had not gained the Poſſeſſion of one third Part of the whole Kingdom, yet in Title they were Owners and Lords of all, ſo as nothing was left to be granted to the Natives. And therefore we do not find in any Record or Story for the Space of Three hundred Years, after theſe Adventurers firſt arrived in *Ireland*, that any *Iriſh Lord* obtained a Grant of his Country from the Crown, but only the King of *Thomond*, who had a Grant but during King *Henry* the Third, his Minority; and *Rotherick* O *Conor*, King of *Conaught*, to whom King *Henry* the Second, before this Diſtribution made, did grant (as is before declared) *Ut ſit Rex ſub eo*; and moreover, *Ut teneat terram ſuam Conactiæ ita bene & in pace, ſicut tenuit antequam Dominus Rex intravit Hiberniam.* And whoſe Succeſſor, in the 24th of *Henry* the Third, when the *Bourkes* had made a ſtrong Plantation there, and had well-nigh expelled him out of his

his Territory, he came over into *England*, (as *Matth. Paris* writeth) and made Complaint to King *Henry* the Third, of this Invaſion made by the *Bourkes* upon his Land, inſiſting upon the Grants of King *Henry* the Second, and King *John*; and affirming, that he had duly paid a yearly Tribute of Five thouſand Marks for his kingdom. Whereupon, the King called unto him the Lord *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, who was then Lord Juſtice of *Ireland*, and Preſident in the Court; and commanded him that he ſhould root out that unjuſt Plantation, which *Hubert* Earl of *Kent* had, in the time of his Greatneſs, planted in thoſe Parts; and wrote withal to the great Men of *Ireland* to move the *Bourks*, and to eſtabliſh the King of *Conaught* in the quiet Poſſeſſion of his kingdom. Howbeit, I do not read, that the King of *England*'s Commandment or Direction in this Behalf was ever put in Execution. For, the truth is, *Richard de Bourgo* had obtained a Grant of all *Conaught*, after the Death of the King of *Conaught*, then living. For which he gave a thouſand Pound, as the Record in the Tower reciteth, the Third of *Henry* the Third, *Clauſ.* 2. And beſides, our Great *Engliſh* Lords could not endure that any Kings ſhould reign in *Ireland*, but themſelves; nay, they could hardly endure that the Crown of *England* it ſelf, ſhould have any Juriſdiction or Power over them. For many of theſe Lords, to whom our Kings had granted theſe petty kingdoms, did by Vertue and Colour of theſe Grants, claim and exerciſe *Jura Regalia* within their Territories; inſomuch, as there were no leſs than Eight Counties Palatine in *Ireland* at one time.

For *William Marſhal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, who married the Daughter and Heir of *Strongbow*, being Lord of all *Leinſter*, had Royal Juriſdiction throughout all that Province. This great Lord had five Sons, and five Daughters; every of his Sons enjoyed that Seigniory ſucceſſively, and yet all dyed without Iſſue. Then this great Lordſhip was broken and divided, and Partition made between the five Daughters, who were married into the nobleſt Houſes of *England*. The County of *Catherlough*

was

was allotted to the eldeſt; *Wexford* to the Second; *Kilkenny* to the Third; *Kildare* to the Fourth; the greateſt part of *Leix*, now called the *Queen's County*, to the Fifth: In every of theſe Portions, the Coparceners ſeverally exerciſed the ſame Juriſdiction Royal, which the Earl Marſhal and his Sons had uſed in the whole Province. Whereby it came to paſs, that there were five County Palatines erected in *Leinſter*. Then had the Lord of *Meath* the ſame Royal Liberty in all that Territory; the Earl of *Ulſter* in all that Province; and the Lord of *Deſmond* and *Kerry* within that County. All theſe appear upon Record, and were all as ancient as the time of King *John*; only the Liberty of *Tipperary*, which is the only Liberty that remaineth at this Day, was granted to *James Butler* the firſt Earl of *Ormonde*, in the Third Year of King *Edward* the Third.

Theſe abſolute Palatines made Barons and Knights, did exerciſe high Juſtice in all Points within their Territories, erected Courts for Criminal and Civil Cauſes, and for their own Revenues, in the ſame Form, as the Kings Courts were eſtabliſhed at *Dublin*; made their own Judges, Seneſchals, Sheriffs, Coroners, and Eſcheators; ſo the King's Writ did not run in thoſe Counties (which took up more than two Parts of the *Engliſh* Colonies) but only the Church Lands lying within the ſame, which were called the *Croſs*, wherein the King made a Sheriff: And ſo, in each of theſe Counties Palatines, there were two Sheriffs; One, of the *Liberty*; and another of the *Croſs*: As in *Meath* we find a Sheriff of the Liberty, and a Sheriff of the Croſs: And ſo in *Ulſter*, and ſo in *Wexford*: And ſo at this Day, the Earl of *Ormonde* maketh a Sheriff of the Liberty, and the King a Sheriff of the Croſs of *Tipperary*. Hereby it is manifeſt, how much the King's Juriſdiction was reſtrained, and the Power of theſe Lords enlarged by theſe high Priviledges. And it doth further appear, by one Article among others, preferred to King *Edward* the Third, touching the Reformation of the State of *Ireland*, which we find in the *Tower*, in theſe Words, *Item les Franchefes grantes in* Ireland, *que ſont. Roialles, telles*

telles come Dureſme & Ceſtre, vous ouſtont cybien de les profits, Come de grande partie de Obeiſance des perſons enfrancheſes; & en queſcum francheſe eſt Chancellerie, Chequer & comuſans de pleas, cybien de la Coronne, Come autres communes, & grantont auxi Charters de pardon; & ſont ſovent per ley et reaſonable cauſe ſeiſſes en voſtre main, a grand profit de vous; & leigerment reſtitues per maundement hors de Englettere, a damage, &c. Unto which Article, the King made Anſwer, *Le Roy voet que les franchese que ſont et ſerront per Juſte cauſe priſes en ſa main, ne ſoent my reſtitues, avant que le Roy ſoit certifie de la cauſe de la priſe de icelles, 26. Ed. 3. Clauſ, m. 1.* Again, theſe great Undertakers, were not tied to any Form of Plantation, but all was left to their Diſcretion and Pleaſure. And although they builded Caſtles, and made Free-holders, yet were there no Tenures or Services reſerved to the Crown; but the Lords drew all the Reſpect and Dependancy of the common People unto *Themſelves*. Now let us ſee what Inconveniences did ariſe by theſe large and ample Grants of Lands and Liberties, to the firſt Adventurers in the Conqueſt.

Aſſuredly by theſe Grants of whole Provinces, and petty kingdoms, thoſe few *Engliſh* Lords pretended to be Proprietors of all the Land, ſo as there was no Poſſibility left of ſettling the Natives in their Poſſeſſions, and by Conſequence the Conqueſt became impoſſible, without the utter Extirpation of all the *Iriſh*; which theſe *Engliſh* Lords were not able to do, nor perhaps willing, if they had been able. Notwithſtanding, becauſe they did ſtill hope to become Lords of thoſe Lands which were poſſeſſed by the *Iriſh*, whereunto they pretended Title by their large Grants; and becauſe they did fear, that if the *Iriſh* were received into the King's Protection, and made Leige-men and Free-ſubjects, the State of *England* would eſtabliſh them in their Poſſeſſions by Grants from the Crown, reduce their Countries into Counties, ennoble ſome of them; and enfranchiſe all, and make them ameſneable to the Law, which would have abridged and cut off a great Part of that Greatneſs which they had promiſed

miſed unto themſelves; they perſwaded the King of *England*, that it was unfit to communicate the Laws of *England* unto them; that it was the beſt Policy to hold them as *Aliens* and *Enemies*, and to proſecute them with a continual War. Hereby they obtained another Royal Prerogative and Power; which was, to make War and Peace at their pleaſure, in every part of the kingdom, which gave them an abſolute Command over the Bodies, Lands, and Goods of the *Engliſh* Subjects here. And beſides, the *Iriſh* inhabiting the Lands fully conquered and reduced, being in Condition of Slaves and Villains, did render a greater Profit and Revenue, than if they had been made the King's free Subjects.

And for theſe Two Cauſes laſt expreſſed, they were not willing to root out all the *Iriſhry*. We may not therefore marvel, that when King *Edward* the Third, upon the Petition of the *Iriſh* (as is before remembred) was deſirous to be certified, *De voluntate magnatum ſuorum in proximo Parliamento in Hibernia tenend. ſi ſine alieno præjudicio concedere poſſit, quod per ſtatut. inde fact. Hibernici utantur legibus Anglicanis, ſive Chartis Regiis inde Impetrandis*, that there was never any Statute made to that Effect. For the Truth is, that thoſe great *Engliſh* Lords did to the uttermoſt of their Power, croſs and withſtand the Enfranchiſement of the *Iriſh*, for the Cauſes before expreſſed; wherein I muſt ſtill clear and acquit the Crown and State of *England*, of Negligence or ill Policy, and lay the Fault upon the Pride, Covetouſneſs, and ill Counſel of the *Engliſh* planted here, which in all former Ages have been the chief Impediments of the final Conqueſt of *Ireland*.

Again, thoſe large Scopes of Land, and great Liberties, with the abſolute Power to make War and Peace, did raiſe the *Engliſh* Lords to that height of Pride and Ambition, as that they could not endure one another, but grew to a mortal War and Diſſention among themſelves, as appeareth by all the Records and Stories of this kingdom. Firſt, in the Year, 1204. the *Lacies* of *Meath*, made War upon Sir *John Courcy*; who having taken him by

by Treachery, ſent him Priſoner into *England*. In the Year, 1210. King *John* coming over in Perſon, expelled the *Lacies* out of the Kingdom, for their Tyranny and Oppreſſion of the *Engliſh*: Howbeit, upon Payment of great Fines, they were afterward reſtored. In the Year 1228. that Family being riſen to a greater Heighth (for *Hugh de Lacy* the Younger, was created Earl of *Ulſter*, after the Death of *Courcy* without Iſſue) there aroſe Diſſention and War between that Houſe, and *William Marſhal* Lord of *Leinſter*, whereby all *Meath* was deſtroyed and laid waſte. In the Year 1264. Sir *Walter Bourke* having married the Daughter and Heir of *Lacy*, whereby he was Earl of *Ulſter* in right of his Wife, had mortal Debate with *Maurice Fitz-Morice* the *Geraldine*, for certain Lands in *Conaught*. So as all *Ireland* was full of Wars between the *Bourkes* and the *Geraldines* (ſay our Annals.) Wherein *Maurice Fitz-Morice* grew ſo inſolent, as that upon a meeting at *Thiſtledermot*, he took the Lord Juſtice himſelf, Sir *Richard Capel*, Priſoner, with divers Lords of *Munſter*, being then in his Company. In the Year, 1288. *Richard Bourke*, Earl of *Ulſter*, (commonly called the *Red Earl*) pretending Title to the Lordſhip of *Meath*, made War upon Sir *Theobald de Verdun*, and beſieged him in the Caſtle of *Athlone*. Again, in the Year 1292. *John Fitz-Thomas* the *Geraldine*, having by Contention with the Lord *Veſci*, gotten a goodly Inheritance in *Kildare*, grew to that heighth of Imagination (ſaith the Story) as he fell into Difference with divers great Noblemen; among many others, with *Richard* the *Red Earl*, whom he took Priſoner, and detained him in *Caſtle-Ley*; and by that Diſſention, the *Engliſh* on the one ſide, and the *Iriſh* on the other, did waſte and deſtroy all the Country.

After, in the Year 1311. the ſame *Red Earl* (coming to beſiege *Bonratty* in *Thomond*, which was then held by Sir *Richard de Clare* as his Inheritance) was again taken Priſoner; and all his Army (conſiſting for the moſt Part of *Engliſh*) overthrown and cut in pieces, by Sir *Richard de Clare*. And after this again, in the Year 1327. moſt

of

of the great Houſes were bandied one againſt another, (*viz.*) The *Giraldines*, *Butlers*, and *Berminghams*, on the one ſide, and the *Bourks* and *Poers* on the other. The Ground of the Quarrel being none other, but that the Lord *Arnold Poer* had called the Earl of *Kildare* Rimer: But this Quarrel was proſecuted with ſuch Malice and Violence, as the Counties of *Waterford* and *Kilkenny* were deſtroyed with Fire and Sword, till a Parliament was called of purpoſe, to quiet this Diſſention.

Shortly after, the Lord *John Bremingham*, who was not long before made Earl of *Louth*, for that noble Service which he performed upon the *Scots*, between *Dundalk* and the *Faher*, was ſo extremely envied by the *Gernons*, *Verdons*, and others of the ancient Colony, planted in the County of *Louth*, as that in the Year 1329, they did moſt wickedly betray and murder that Earl, with divers principal Gentlemen of his Name and Family; uſing the ſame Speech that the Rebellious Jews are ſaid to uſe in the Goſpel:

Nolumus hunc regnare ſuper nos.

After this, the *Geraldines* and the *Butlers* being become the moſt potent Families in the Kingdom (for the great Lordſhip of *Leinſter* was divided among Coparceners, whoſe Heirs for the moſt part lived in *England*; and the Earldom of *Ulſter*, with the Lordſhip of *Meath*, by the match of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, at laſt deſcended upon the Crown) had almoſt a continual War one with another. In the time of King *Henry* the Sixth (ſaith Baron *Finglas* in his Diſcourſe of the Decay of *Ireland*,) in a Fight between the Earls of *Ormonde* and *Deſmond*, almoſt all the Townſmen of *Kilkenny* were ſlain. And as they followed contrary Parties during the Wars of *York* and *Lancaſter*, ſo after that civil Diſſention ended in *England*, theſe Houſes in *Ireland* continued their Oppoſition and Feud ſtill, even till the time of King *Henry* the Eighth; when by the Marriage of *Margaret Fitz-Gerald* to the Earl of *Oſſory*, the Houſes of *Kildare* and *Ormonde*

monde were reconciled, and have continued in Amity ver ſince.

Thus theſe great Eſtates and Royalties granted to the *gliſh* Lords in *Ireland*, begat Pride; and Pride begat ontention among themſelves, which brought forth di-ers Miſchiefs, that did not only diſable the *Engliſh* to niſh the Conqueſt of all *Ireland*, but did endanger the oſs of what was already gained; And of Conquerors, ade them Slaves to that Nation which they did intend conquer. For, whenſoever one *Engliſh* Lord had van-uiſh'd another, the *Iriſh* waited and took the Opportu-ity, and fell upon that Country which had received the low; and ſo daily recovered ſome part of the Lands, hich were poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh* Colonies.

Beſides, the *Engliſh* Lords to ſtrengthen their Parties id ally themſelves with the *Iriſh*, and drew them in, to well among them, gave their Children to be Foſter'd a-ong them; and having no other means to pay or re-ard them, ſuffer'd them to take Coigne and Livery up-n the *Engliſh* Free-holders; which Oppreſſion was ſo tolerable, as that the better ſort was enforced to quit eir Free-holds, and flie into *England*; and never re-rned, though many Laws were made in both Realms, remand them back again; and the reſt which re-ained, became degenerate and meer *Iriſh*, as is before eclared. And the *Engliſh* Lords finding the *Iriſh* Exac-ons to be more profitable than the *Engliſh Rents* and *rvices*; and loving the *Iriſh* Tyranny, which was tyed no Rules of *Law* or *Honour*, better than a juſt and awful Seigniory, did reject and caſt off the *Engliſh Law* nd Government, received the *Iriſh Laws* and *Cuſtoms*, ook *Iriſh* Sir-names, as *Mac-William*, *Mac-Pheris*, *Mac-ris*, refuſed to come to the Parliaments which were mmoned by the King of *England*'s Authority, and corned to obey thoſe *Engliſh Knights* which were ſent to ommand and govern this Kingdom; namely, Sir *Richard apel*, Sir *John Morris*, Sir *John Darcy*, and Sir *Ralph fford*. And when Sir *Anthony Lucy*, a Man of great Au-hority in the time of King *Edward* the Third, was ſent over

over to reform the notorious Abuſes of this Kingdom the King doubting that he ſhould not be obeyed, direct ed a ſpecial Writ or Mandate to the Earl of *Ulſter*, an the reſt of the Nobility to aſſiſt him. And afterwards the ſame King (upon good Advice and Counſel) re ſumed thoſe exceſſive Grants of Lands and Liberties i *Ireland* by a ſpecial Ordinance made in *England*, whic remaineth of Record in the Tower, in this Form: *Qui plures exceſſivæ donationes terrarum & libertatum in Hi bernia ad ſubdolam machinationem petentium factæ ſun &c. Rex deluſorias hujuſmodi machinationes volens el dere, de conſilio peritorum ſibi aſſiſtentium, omnes donati nes Terrarum & libertatum prædict. duxit revocandas quouſque de meritis donatorium & cauſis ab qualitatibu donationum melius fuerit informat. & ideo mandatum e Juſticiario Hiberniæ quod ſeiſivi faciat, &c.* Howbeit there followed upon this Reſumption, ſuch a Diviſion and Faction between the *Engliſh* of Birth and the *Engliſ* of Blood and Race, as they ſummoned and held ſeveral Parliaments apart one from the other. Whereupon ther had riſen a general War betwixt them to the utter extin guiſhing of the *Engliſh* Name and Nation in *Ireland*, if th Earl of *Deſmond*, who was head of the Faction againſt th *Engliſh* of Birth, had not been ſent into *England*, an detained there for a time: yet afterwards, theſe Liberties being reſtored by direction out of *England*, the 26th o *Edward* the Third, Complaint was made to the King o the eaſie Reſtitution; whereunto the King made Anſwer as is before expreſſed: ſo as we may conclude this Point with that which we find in the Annals, publiſhed by Ma ſter *Cambden*: *Hibernici debellati & conſumpti fuiſſent, ni ſi ſeditio Anglicorum impediviſſet.* Whereunto I may add this Note, that though ſome are of Opinion that Grant of extraordinary Honours and Liberties made by a King to his Subjects, do no more diminiſh his Greatneſs than when one Torch lighteth another; for it hath no leſs Light than it had before, *Quis vetat appoſito lumen de lumine ſumi?* Yet many times Inconveniences do ariſe thereupon: and thoſe Princes have held up their Sovereignty beſt which

have

ve been ſparing in thoſe Grants. And truly, as theſe rants of little Kingdoms and great Royalties to a few ivate Perſons, did produce the Miſchiefs ſpoken of be- re: So the true Cauſe of the making of theſe Grants d proceed from this; That the Kings of *England* being herwiſe employed and diverted, did not make the Con- eſt of *Ireland* their own Work, and undertake it not oyally at their own Charge; but as it was firſt begun by rticular Adventurers, ſo they left the Proſecution there- to them, and other Voluntaries, who came to ſeek eir Fortunes in *Ireland*; wherein if they could prevail, ey thought that in Reaſon and Honour they could do leſs than make them Proprietors of ſuch Scopes of and as they could conquer, people, and plant at their wn Charge, reſerving only the Sovereign Lordſhip to e Crown of *England*. *But if the Lyon had gone to hunt imſelf, the Shares of the inferior Beaſts had not been ſo eat*: If the Invaſion had been made by an Army tranſ- itted, furniſhed, and ſupplied only at the King's Char- es, and wholly paid with the King's Treaſure, as the rmies of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* have been; the Conqueſt had been ſooner atchieved, ſo the Ser- itors had been contented with leſſer Proportions.

For, when *Scipio*, *Pompey*, *Cæſar*, and other Generals the *Roman* Armies, as Subjects and Servants of that tate, and with the publick Charge had conquered many Kingdoms and Commonweals, we find them rewarded ith Honourable Offices and Triumphs at their Return; nd not made Lords and Proprietors of whole Provin- es and Kingdoms, which they had ſubdued to the Em- ire of *Rome*. Likewiſe, when the Duke of *Normandy* ad conquered *England*, which he made his own Work, nd performed it in his own Perſon, he diſtributed ſun- ry Lordſhips and Mannors unto his Followers, but gave ot away whole Shires and Countries in demeaſne to a- y of his Servitors, whom he moſt deſired to advance; nly he made *Hugh Lupus* County Palatine of *Cheſter*, nd gave that Earldom to him and his Heirs, to hold the ame, *Ita liberè ad gladium, ſicut Rex tenebat Angliam*

ad

ad Coronam: Whereby that Earldom indeed had a Ro
al Juriſdiction and Seigniory, though the Lands of th
County in demeaſne, were poſſeſſed for the moſt pa
by the ancient Inheritors.

Again, from the Time of the *Norman* Conqueſt till t
Reign of King *Edward* the Firſt, many of our *Engl*
Lords made War upon the *Welſh* Men at their own Charg
the Lands which they gained they held to their own uſe
were called Lords Marchers, and had Royal Liberti
within their Lordſhips: Howbeit, theſe particular A
venturers could never make a perfect Conqueſt
Wales.

But when King *Edward* the Firſt came in Perſon wi
his Army thither, kept his Reſidence and Court ther
made the Reducing of *Wales* an Enterprize of his ow
he finiſhed that Work in a Year or two, whereof th
Lords Marchers had not performed a third Part wi
their continual bordering War, for two hundred Yea
before. And withal, we may obſerve, that though th
King had now the Dominion of *Wales* in *Jure propriet*
tis, as the Statute of *Rutland* affirmeth; which befo
was ſubject unto him but in *Jure feodali*: And thou
he had loſt divers principal Knights and Noblemen
that War, yet did he not reward his Servitors with who
Countries or Counties, but with particular Manors a
Lordſhips: As to *Henry Lacy* Earl of *Lincolne*, he ga
the Lordſhip of *Denbigh*; and to *Reginald Gray* t
Lordſhip of *Ruthen*; and ſo to others. And if the li
Courſe had been uſed in the winning and diſtributing t
Lands of *Ireland*, that Iſland had been fully conquer
before the Continent of *Wales* had been reduced. B
the Truth is, when private Men attempt the Conqu
of Countries at their own Charge, commonly their E
terprizes do periſh without Succeſs: As when, in t
time of Queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Thomas Smith* underto
to recover the *Ardes*; and *Chatterton*, to reconquer t
Fues and *Orier*: The one loſt his Son, and the other, hi
ſelf; and both their Adventures came to nothing. A
as for the Crown of *England*, it hath had the like Fortu

n the Conqueſt of this Land, as ſome Purchaſers have, who deſire to buy Land at too eaſie a Rate; they find hoſe cheap Purchaſes ſo full of Trouble, as they ſpend wice as much as the Land is worth before they get the uiet Poſſeſſion thereof.

And as the beſt Policy was not obſerved in the Diſtribution of the conquered Lands; ſo, as I conceive, that he firſt Adventurers, intending to make a full Conueſt of the *Iriſh*, were deceived in the Choice of the *ittеſt Places for their Plantation*: For they ſat down, and rected their Caſtles and Habitations in the *Plains and o- en Countries*, where they found moſt fruitful and profiable Lands, and turned the *Iriſh* into the *Woods and Mountains*: Which, as they were proper Places for Outaws and Thieves, ſo were they their natural Caſtles and Fortifications; thither they drave their Preys and Stealths: There they lurkt, and lay in wait to do Miſchief. Theſe aſt Places they kept unknown, by making the Ways and Entries thereunto impaſſable; there they kept their Creaghts or Herds of Cattle, living by the Milk of the Cow, without Husbandry or Tillage; there they increaſed and multiplied unto infinite Numbers by promiſcuous Generation among themſelves; there they made their Aſſemblies and Conſpiracies without Diſcovery: But they diſcovered the Weakneſs of the *Engliſh* dwelling in the open Plains; and thereupon made their Sallies and Retreats with great Advantage: Whereas, on the other ſide, if the *Engliſh* had built their Caſtles and Towns in thoſe Places of faſtneſs, and had driven the *Iriſh* into the Plains and open Countries, where they might have had an Eye and Obſervation upon them, the *Iriſh* had been eaſily kept in order, and in ſhort time reclaimed from their Wildneſs: There they would have uſed Tillage, dwelt together in Townſhips, and learned Mechanical Arts and Sciences. The Woods had been waſted with the *Engliſh* Habitations, as they are about the Forts of *Maryborough* and *Phillipſtown*, which were built in the faſteſt Places in *Leinſter*; and the Ways and Paſſages throughout *Ire-*

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land would have been as clear and open, as they are in *England* at this Day.

Again, if King *Henry* the Second, who is ſaid to be the King that conquered this Land, had made Forreſts in *Ireland*, as he did enlarge the Forreſts in *England* (for it appeareth by *Charta de Foreſta*, thet he afforeſted many Woods and Waſtes, to the Grievance of the Subject, which by that Law were diſafforreſted) or if thoſe *Engliſh* Lords, amongſt whom the whole Kingdom was divided, had been good Hunters, and had reduced the Mountains, Boggs, and Woods within the Limits of Forreſts, Chaſes, and Parks; aſſuredly, the very Forreſt Law, and and the Law *de Malefactoribus in parcis*, would in time have driven them into the Plains and Countries inhabited and manured, and have made them yield up their faſt Places to thoſe wild Beaſts, which were indeed leſs hurtful and wild than they. But it ſeemeth ſtrange to me, that in all the Records of this Kingdom, I ſeldom find any mention made of a Forreſt; and never of any Park or Free-warren; conſidering the great Plenty both of Venſ and Veniſon within this Land; and that the chief of the Nobility and Gentry are deſcended of *Engliſh* Race; and yet at this Day, there is but one Park ſtored with Deer in all this Kingdom, which is a Park of the Earl of Ormonde near *Kilkenny*. It is then manifeſt, by that which is before expreſſed, that the not communicating of the *Engliſh* Laws to the *Iriſh*, the over-large Grants of Lands and Liberties to the *Engliſh*; the Plantation made by the *Engliſh* in the Plains and open Countries, leaving the Woods and Mountains to the *Iriſh*, were great Defects in the Civil Policy, and hindered the Perfection of the Conqueſt very much. Howbeit, notwithſtanding theſe Defects and Errors, the *Engliſh* Colonies ſtood and maintained themſelves in a reaſonable good Eſtate, as long as they retained their own ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, according to that of *Ennius*: *Moribus antiquis res ſtat Romana viriſque*. But when the Civil Government grew ſo weak and ſo looſe, as that the *Engliſh* Lords would not ſuffer the *Engliſh* Laws to be put in execution within their

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Territories and Seigniories, but in place thereof, both they and their People, embraced the *Iriſh* Cuſtoms: Then the eſtate of things, *like a Game at* Iriſh, was ſo turn'd about, as the *Engliſh*, which hop'd to make a perfect Conqueſt of the *Iriſh*, were by them perfectly and abſolutely conquered; becauſe *Victi victoribus leges dedere. A juſt Puniſhment to our Nation, that would not give Laws to the* Iriſh *when they might, and therefore now the* Iriſh *gave Laws to them.* Therefore, this Defect and Failing of the *Engliſh* Colonies, and the inducing of the *Iriſh* Cuſtoms in lieu thereof, was the main Impediment that did arreſt and ſtop the Courſe of the Conqueſt; and was the only mean that enabled the *Iriſhry* to recover their Strength again.

For, if we conſider the Nature of the *Iriſh* Cuſtoms, we ſhall find that the People which doth uſe them muſt of Neceſſity be Rebels to all good Government, deſtroy the Commonwealth wherein they live, and bring Barbariſm and Deſolation upon the richeſt and moſt fruitful Land of the World. For, whereas by the juſt and honourable Law of *England*, and by the Laws of all other well-govern'd Kingdoms and Commonweals, Murder, Man-ſlaughter, Rape, Robbery, and Theft, are puniſhed with Death; By the *Iriſh* Cuſtom, or *Brehon* Law, the higheſt of theſe Offences was puniſh'd only by Fine, which they called an *Ericke*. Therefore, when Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, (being Lord-Deputy,) told *Maguire*, that he was to ſend a Sheriff into *Fermanagh*, being lately before made a County; your Sheriff (ſaid *Maguire*) ſhall be welcome to me, but let me know his *Ericke*, or, *the Price of his Head* afore-hand; that if my People cut it off, I may put the Ericke upon the Country. As for Oppreſſion, Extortion, and other Treſpaſſes, the weaker had never any Remedy againſt the ſtronger: whereby it came to paſs, that no Man could enjoy his Life, his Wife, his Lands or Goods in ſafety, if a mightier Man than himſelf had an Appetite to take the ſame from him. Wherein they were little better than *Canibals*, who do hunt one

another; and that hath moſt Strength and Swiftneſs, doth eat and devour all his Fellows.

Again, in *England*, and all well-order'd Commonweals, Men have certain Eſtates in their Lands and Poſſeſſions, and their Inheritances deſcend from Father to Son, which doth give them Encouragement to build, and to plant, and to improve their Lands, and to make them better for their Poſterities. But by the *Iriſh* Cuſtom of *Taniſtry*, the Chieftains of every Country, and chief of every Sept, had no longer Eſtate than for Life in their Chieferies, the Inheritance whereof did reſt in no Man. And theſe Chieferies, though they had ſome Portions of Lands allotted unto them, did conſiſt chiefly in Cuttings and Coſheries, and other *Iriſh* Exactions, whereby they did ſpoil and impoveriſh the People at their Pleaſure. And when their Chieftains were dead, their Sons or next Heirs did not ſucceed them, but their *Taniſtes*, who were elective, and purchaſed their Elections by ſtrong Hand; And by the *Iriſh* Cuſtom of Gavelkind, the inferior Tennanties were partible amongſt all the Males of the Sept, both Baſtards and Legitimate: and after Partition made, if any one of the Sept had died, his Portion was not divided among his Sons, but the Chief of the Sept made a new Partition of all the Lands belonging to that Sept, and gave every one his part according to his Antiquity.

Theſe two *Iriſh* Cuſtoms made all their Poſſeſſions uncertain, being ſhuffled, and changed, and removed ſo often from one to another, by new Elections and Partitions; which uncertainty of Eſtates hath been the true Cauſe of ſuch Deſolation and Barbariſm in this Land, as the like was never ſeen in any Country that profeſſed the Name of Chriſt. For though the *Iriſhry* be a Nation of great Antiquity, and wanted neither Wit nor Valour; and though they had received the Chriſtian Faith above 1200 Years ſince; and were Lovers of Muſick, Poetry, and all kind of Learning; and poſſeſſed a Land abounding with all Things neceſſary for the civil Life of Man; yet (which is ſtrange to be related) they did never build

any

any Houſes of Brick or Stone (ſome few poor Religious Houſes excepted) before the Reign of King *Henry* the ſecond, though they were Lords of this Iſland for many hundred Years before, and ſince the Conqueſt attempted by the *Engliſh*: Albeit, when they ſaw us build Caſtles upon their Borders, they have only in imitation of us, erected ſome few Piles for the Captains of the Country: yet I dare boldly ſay, that never any particular Perſon, either before or ſince, did build any Stone or Brick Houſe for his private Habitation; but ſuch as have lately obtained Eſtates, according to the courſe of the Law of *England*. Neither did any of them in all this time, plant any Gardens or Orchards, incloſe or improve their Lands, live together in ſettled Villages or Towns, nor made any Proviſion for Poſterity; which being againſt all common Senſe and Reaſon, muſt needs be imputed to thoſe unreaſonable Cuſtoms, which made their Eſtate ſo uncertain and tranſitory in their Poſſeſſions.

For, who would plant or improve, or build upon that Land, which a Stranger, whom he knew not, ſhould poſſeſs after his Death? For that (as *Solomon* noteth) is one of the ſtrangeſt Vanities under the Sun. And this is the true Reaſon why *Ulſter*, and all the *Iriſh* Countries are found ſo waſte and deſolate at this Day; and ſo would they continue till the World's End, if theſe Cuſtoms were not aboliſhed by the Law of *England*.

Again, that *Iriſh* Cuſtom of *Gavelkind*, did breed another Miſchief; for thereby every Man being born to Land, as well Baſtard as Legitimate, they all held themſelves to be Gentlemen. And though their Portions were never ſo ſmall, and themſelves never ſo poor (*For Gavelkind muſt needs in the end make a poor Gentility*) yet did they ſcorn to deſcend to Husbandry or Merchandize, or to learn any Mechanical Art or Science. And this is the true Cauſe why there were never any Corporate Towns erected in the *Iriſh* Countries. As for Maritime Cities and Towns, moſt certain it is, that they were built and peopled by the *Ooſtmen* or *Eaſterlings*: For the Natives of *Ireland* never performed ſo good a Work

as to build a City. Beſides, theſe poor Gentlemen were ſo affected unto their ſmall Portions of Land, as they rather choſe to live at home by Theft, Extortion, and Coſhering, than to ſeek any better Fortunes abroad: Which increaſed their *Septs* or *Sirnames* into ſuch Numbers, as there are not to be found in any Kingdom of *Europe*, ſo many Gentlemen of one Blood, Family, and Sirname, as there are of the *Oneals* in *Ulſter*, of the *Bourks* in *Conaught*; of the *Geraldines* and *Butlers* in *Munſter* and *Leinſter*. And the like may be ſaid of the inferior Bloods and Families; whereby it came to paſs in times of Trouble and Diſſention, that they made great Parties and Factions, adhering one to another, with much Conſtancy; becauſe they were tied together, *Vinculo ſanguinis*; whereas Rebels and Malefactors, which are tied to their Leaders by no Band, either of Duty or Blood, do more eaſily break and fall off one from another. And beſides, their Co-habitation in one Country or Territory, gave them Opportunity ſuddenly to aſſemble and conſpire, and riſe in Multitudes againſt the Crown. And even now, in the time of Peace, we find this Inconvenience, that there can hardly be an indifferent Trial had between the King and his Subjects, or between Party and Party, by reaſon of this general Kindred and Conſanguinity.

But the moſt wicked and miſchievous Cuſtom of all others, was that of *Coigne* and *Livery*, often before mentioned, which conſiſted in taking of *Man's-meat*, *Horſe-meat*, and *Money*, of all the Inhabitants of the Country, at the Will and Pleaſure of the Soldier, who as the Phraſe of Scripture is, *Did eat up the People as it were Bread*; for that he had no other Entertainment. This Extortion was originally *Iriſh*, for they uſed to lay *Bonaght* upon their People, and never gave their Soldiers any other Pay. But when the *Engliſh* had learned it, they uſed it with more Inſolency, and made it more intollerable; for this Oppreſſion was not temporary, or limited either to Place or Time; but becauſe there was every where a continual War, either Offenſive, or Defenſive; and every

very Lord of a Country, and every Marcher made War and Peace at his pleaſure, it became univerſal and perpetual; and was indeed the moſt heavy Oppreſſion that ever was uſed in any Chriſtian or Heathen Kingdom. And therefore, *Vox Oppreſſorum*, this crying Sin, did draw down as great, or greater Plagues upon *Ireland*, than the Oppreſſion of the *Iſraelites* did draw upon the Land of *Egypt*. For the Plagues of *Egypt*, though they were grievous, were but of a ſhort Continuance; but the Plagues of *Ireland*, laſted four hundred Years together. This Extortion of *Coigne* and *Livery* did produce two notorious Effects: Firſt, it made the Land waſte: Next, it made the People idle. For, when the Husbandman had laboured all the Year, the Soldier in one Night, did conſume the Fruits of all his Labour, *Longique perit labor irritus anni*. Had he Reaſon then to manure the Land for the next Year? Or rather might he not complain as the Shepherd in *Virgil*.

Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
Barbarus has ſegetes? En quo diſcordia cives
Perduxit miſeros? En queis conſevimus agros?

And hereupon of Neceſſity came Depopulation, Baniſhment, and Extirpation of the better Sort of Subjects: And ſuch as remained, became idle, and Lookers on, expecting the Event of thoſe Miſeries and evil times: So as this extream Extortion and Oppreſſion hath been the true Cauſe of the Idleneſs of this *Iriſh* Nation; and that rather the vulgar Sort have choſen to be Beggars in Foreign Countries, than to manure their own fruitful Land at home.

Laſtly, this Oppreſſion did of Force and Neceſſity make the *Iriſh* a crafty People: For ſuch as are oppreſſed and live in Slavery, are ever put to their Shifts; *Ingenium mala ſæpe movent*; and therefore, in the old Comedies of *Plautus* and *Terence*, the Bondſlave doth always act the cunning and crafty Part. Beſides, all the common People have a whining Tune or Accent in their

Speech, as if they did ſtill ſmart or ſuffer ſome Oppreſſion. And this Idleneſs, together with fear of imminent Miſchiefs, which did continually hang over their Heads, have been the Cauſe, that the *Iriſh* were ever the moſt inquiſitive People after News, of any Nation in the World. As S. *Paul* himſelf made Obſervation upon the People of *Athens*; that they were an idle People, and did nothing but learn and tell News. And becauſe theſe News-carriers, did by their falſe Intelligence, many times raiſe Troubles and Rebellions in this Realm, the Statute of *Kilkenny* doth puniſh News-tellers (by the Name of *Skelaghes*) with Fine and Ranſom.

This Extortion of *Coigne* and *Livery*, was taken for the Maintenance of their Men of War; but their *Iriſh* Exactions extorted by the *Chieftains* and *Taniſts*, by Colour of their barbarous Seignory, were almoſt as grievous a Burthen as the other; namely *Coſherings*, which were Viſitations and Progreſſes made by the Lord and his Followers, among his Tenants: Wherein he did eat them (as the *Engliſh* Proverb is) *Out of Houſe and Home*. *Seſſings* of the *Kern*, of his Family, called *Kernety*, of his Horſes and Horſe-boys; of his Dogs and Dog-boys, and the like: And laſtly, *Cuttings*, *Tallages*, or *Spendings*, high or low, at his pleaſure; all which made the Lord an abſolute Tyrant, and the Tenant a very Slave and Villain; and in one reſpect more miſerable than Bond-ſlaves. *For commonly the Bond-ſlave is fed by his Lord, but here the Lord was fed by his Bond-ſlave.*

Laſtly, there were two other Cuſtoms proper and peculiar to the *Iriſhry*, which being the Cauſe of many ſtrong Combinations and Factions, do tend to the utter Ruine of a Commonwealth: The one was *Foſtering*; the other *Goſſipred*; both which have ever been of greater Eſtimation among this people than with any other Nation in the *Chriſtian* World. For *Foſtering*, I did never hear or read, that it was in that Uſe or Reputation in any other Country, barbarous or civil, as it has been, and yet is, in *Ireland*: Where they put away all their Children to Foſterers: The potent and rich Men *Selling*, the mean-

meaner ſort *Buying*, the Alterage of their Children; and the Reaſon is, becauſe in the Opinion of this People, *Foſtering* had always been a ſtronger Alliance than *Blood*; and the Foſter-Children do love, and are beloved of their Foſter-fathers, and their Sept, more than of their own natural Parents and Kindred; and do participate of their Means more frankly, and do adhere unto them in all Fortunes, with more Affection and Conſtancy. And though *Tully* in his Book of Friendſhip doth obſerve, that Children of Princes being ſometimes in Caſes of Neceſſity, for ſaving of their Lives, delivered to Shepherds to be nouriſhed and bred up, when they have been reſtored to their great Fortunes, have ſtill retained their Love and Affection to their Foſterers, whom for many Years they took to be their Parents: Yet this was a rare Caſe, and few Examples are to be found thereof.

But ſuch a general Cuſtom in a Kingdom, in giving and taking Children to foſter, making ſuch a firm Alliance as it doth in *Ireland*, was never ſeen or heard of, in any other Country of the World beſides.

The like may be ſaid of *Goſſipred*, or *Compaternity*, which though by the Canon-Law, it be a Spiritual Affinity, and a Juror that was Goſhip to either of the Parties, might in former times have been challenged, as not indifferent by our Law, yet there was no Nation under the Sun, that ever made ſo religious Account thereof, as the *Iriſh*.

Now theſe two Cuſtoms, which of themſelves are indifferent in other Kingdoms, became exceeding evil and full of Miſchief in this Realm, by reaſon of the Inconveniences which followed thereupon. For they made (as I ſaid before) ſtrong Parties and Factions, whereby the great Men were enabled to oppreſs their Inferiors, and to oppoſe their Equals: And their Followers were born out and countenanced in all their lewd and wicked Actions: For Foſterers and Goſſips, by the common Cuſtom of *Ireland*, were to maintain one another in all Cauſes lawful and unlawful; which as it is a Combination and Confederacy puniſhable in all well-governed

Commonweals, ſo was it not one of the leaſt Cauſes of the common Miſery of this Kingdom.

I omit their common Repudiation of their Wives; their promiſcuous Generation of Children; their neglect of lawful Matrimony; their Uncleanneſs in Apparel, Diet, and Lodging; and their Contempt and Scorn of all things neceſſary for the civil Life of Man.

Theſe were the *Iriſh* Cuſtoms, which the *Engliſh* Colonies did embrace and uſe, after they had rejected the Civil and Honourable Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*, whereby they became degenerate and metamorphoſed like *Nebuchadnezzar*: Who although he had the Face of a Man, had the Heart of a Beaſt; or like thoſe who had drunk of *Circe*'s Cup, and were turned into very Beaſts; and yet took ſuch Pleaſure in their beaſtly manner of Life, as they would not return to their Shape of Men again: Inſomuch, as within leſs time than the Age of a Man, they had no Marks or Differences left amongſt them of that noble Nation, from which they were deſcended. For, as they did not only forget the *Engliſh* Language, and ſcorn the uſe thereof, but grew to be aſhamed of their very *Engliſh* Names, though they were Noble and of great Antiquity; and took *Iriſh Sirnames* and *Nick-names*. Namely, the two moſt potent Families of the *Bourks* in *Conaught* (after the Houſe of the Red Earl failed of Heirs Males) called their Chiefs, *Mac William Eighter*, and *Mac William Oughter*. In the ſame Province, *Bremingham*, *Baron* of *Athenree*, called himſelf *Mac Yoris*. *Dexeceſter* or *De'xon*, was called *Mac Jordan*. *Nangle*, or *de Angulo*, took the Name of *Mac Coſtello*. Of the inferior Families of the *Bourks*, one was called *Mac Hubbard*, another *Mac David*. In *Munſter*, of the great Families of the *Geraldines* planted there, one was called *Mac Morice*, Chief of the Houſe of *Lixnaw*; and another, *Mac Gibbon*, who was alſo called the *White Knight*. The Chief of the Baron of *Dunboyne*'s Houſe, who is a Branch of the Houſe of *Ormonde*, took their Sirnames of *Mac Pherit*. *Condon* of the County of *Waterford*, was called *Mac Maioge*: And the Arch-deacon

con of the County of *Kilkenny*, *Mac Odo*. And this they did in Contempt and Hatred of the *Engliſh* Name and Nation; whereof theſe degenerate Families became more mortal Enemies than the meer *Iriſh*. And whereas the State and Government being grown weak by their Defection, did, to reduce them to Obedience, grant them many Protections and Pardons (*the Cheapneſs whereof, in all Ages, hath brought great Diſhonour and Damage to this Commonweal*) they grew ſo ungrateful and unnatural, as in the end they ſcorned that Grace and Favour, becauſe the Acceptance thereof did argue them to be Subjects; and they deſired rather to be accounted Enemies than Rebels to the Crown of *England*.

Hereupon was that old Verſe made, which I find written in the White Book of the Exchequer, in a Hand as ancient as the time of King *Edward* the Third.

By granting Charters of Peas,
To falſe Engliſh withouten les,
This Land ſhall be mich undoo.
But Goſſipred, and alterage,
And leeſing of our Languge,
Have mickly holp theretoo.

And therefore, in a Cloſe Roll in the Tower, bearing this Title, *Articuli in Hibernia obſervandi*, we find theſe two Articles among others. 1. *Juſticiarius Hiberniæ non concedat perdonationes de morte hominis, nec de Roberiis, ſeu incendiis, & quod de cætero certificet dominum regem de nominibus petentium.* 2. *Item, Quod nec Juſticiarius nec aliquis Magnas Hiberniæ concedat protectiones alicui contra pacem Regis exiſtenti, &c.* But now it is fit to look back, and conſider when the old *Engliſh* Colonies became ſo degenerate; and in what Age they fell away into that *Iriſh* Barbariſm, rejecting the *Engliſh* Laws and Cuſtoms. Aſſuredly, by comparing the ancient Annals of *Ireland* with the Records remaining here, and in the Tower of *London*, I do find that this general Defection fell out in the latter end of the Reign of King *Edward*

the Second, and in the beginning of the Reign of King *Edward* the Third. And all this great Innovation grew within the ſpace of thirty Years: Within the Compaſs of which Time there fell out divers miſchievous Accidents, whereby the whole Kingdom was in a manner loſt. For firſt, *Edward le Bruce* invaded *Ireland* with the *Scottiſh* Army; and prevailed ſo far, as that he poſſeſſed the Maritime Parts of *Ulſter*, marched up to the Walls of *Dublin*, ſpoiled the *Engliſh* Pale, paſſed through *Leinſter* and *Munſter*, as far as *Limerick*, and was Maſter of the Field in every part of the Kingdom.

This happened in the tenth Year of King *Edward* the Second, at which Time the Crown of *England* was weaker, and ſuffered more Diſhonour in both Kingdoms than it did any time ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt. Then did the State of *England* ſend over *John de Hotham* to be Treaſurer here, with Commiſſion to call the great Lords of *Ireland* together; and to take of them an Oath of Aſſociation, that they ſhould loyally joyn together in Life and Death to preſerve the Right of the King of *England*, and to expel the common Enemy: But this Treaſurer brought neither Men nor Money to perform this Service.

At that time, though *Richard Bourk* Earl of *Ulſter* (commonly called the Red Earl) was of greater Power than any other Subject in *Ireland*, yet was he ſo far ſtricken in Years, as that he was unable to manage the the Martial Affairs, as he had done during all the Reign of King *Edward* the Firſt; having been General of the *Iriſh* Forces, not only in this Kingdom, but in the Wars of *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Gaſcoigne*: And therefore *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* of *Deſmond*, being then the moſt active Nobleman in this Realm, took upon him the chief Command in this War; for the Support whereof the Revenue of this Land was far too ſhort, and yet no Supply of Treaſure was ſent out of *England*.

Then was there no Means to maintain the Army, but by ſeſſing the Soldiers upon the Subject, as the *Iriſh* were wont to impoſe their *Bonaught*: Whereupon grew

that wicked Extortion of *Coigne* and *Livery* ſpoken of before, which in ſhort time baniſhed the greateſt Part of the Free-holders out of the Counties of *Kerry*, *Limerick*, *Cork*, and *Waterford*; into whoſe Poſſeſſions *Deſmond* and his Kinſmen, Allies, and Followers, which were then more *Iriſh* than *Engliſh*, did enter and appropriate theſe Lands unto themſelves, *Deſmond* himſelf taking what ſcopes he beſt liked for his Demeaſnes in every County, and reſerving an *Iriſh* Seigniory out of the reſt. And here, that I may verifie and maintain by matter of Record; that which is before delivered touching the Nature of this wicked Extortion called *Coigne* and *Livery*; and the manifold Miſchiefs it did produce, I think it fit and pertinent to inſert the Preamble of the Statute of 10. of *Henry the* Seventh, *c.* 4. not printed, but recorded in Parliament Rolls of *Dublin*, in theſe Words: *At the Requeſt and Supplication of the Commons of this Land of* Ireland, *that where of long time there have been uſed and exacted by the Lords and Gentlemen of this Land, many and divers damnable Cuſtoms and Uſages, which have been called Coigne and Livery, and Pay; that is, Horſe Meat and Man's Meat, for the finding of their Horſe-men and Foot-men; and over that,* 4 d. *or* 6 d. *daily to every one of them to be had and paid of the poor Earth-tillers, and Tenants, Inhabitants of the ſaid Land, without any thing doing or paying therefore. Beſides, many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other manifold Extortions and Oppreſſions by the ſaid Horſe-men and Foot-men, daily and nightly committed and done; which have been the principal Cauſes of the Deſolation and Deſtruction of the ſaid Land, and have brought the ſame into Ruine, and Decay, ſo as the moſt part of the Engliſh Free-holders and Tenants of this Land been departed out thereof, ſome into the Realm of* England, *and other ſome to other ſtrange Lands; whereupon the foreſaid Lords and Gentlemen of this Land have Intruded into the ſaid Free-holders and Tenants Inheritances; and the ſame keepeth and occupieth as their own Inheritances; and ſetten under them in the ſame Land the King's* Iriſh *Enemies, to the diminiſhing of Holy Churches Rites,*

Rites, the diſheriſon of the King and his obedient Subjects, and the utter Ruine and Deſolation of the Land. For Reformation whereof, be it enacted, That the King ſhall receive a Subſidy of 26 s. 8 d. *out of every* 120 *Acres of arable Land manured*, &c. But to return to *Thomas Fitz-Maurice* of *Deſmond*; By this Extortion of *Coigne* and *Livery* he ſuddenly grew from a mean to a mighty Eſtate; inſomuch as the Baron *Finglas* in his Diſcourſe of the Decay of *Ireland*, affirmeth, that his ancient Inheritance being not one thouſand Marks yearly, he became able to diſpend every way, ten thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Theſe Poſſeſſions being thus unlawfully gotten, could not be maintained by the juſt and honourable Law of *England*, which would have reſtored the true Owners to their Land again; and therefore this great Man found no Means to continue and uphold his ill-purchaſed Greatneſs, but by rejecting the *Engliſh* Law and Government, and aſſuming in Lieu thereof the barbarous Cuſtoms of the *Iriſh*: And hereupon, followed the Defection of thoſe four Shires, containing the greateſt Part of *Munſter*, from the Obedience of the Law.

In like manner (ſaith Baron *Finglas*) the Lord *Tipperary* (perceiving how well the Houſe of *Deſmond* had thrived by *Coigne* and *Livery*, and other *Iriſh* Exactions) began to hold the like Courſe in the Counties of *Tipperary* and *Kilkenny*; whereby he got great ſcopes of Land, eſpecially in *Ormonde*; and raiſed many *Iriſh* Exactions upon the *Engliſh* Free-holders there; which made him ſo potent and abſolute among them, as at that time they knew no other Law, than the Will of their Lord. Beſides, finding that the Earl of *Deſmond* excluded the ordinary Miniſters of Juſtice, under Colour of a Royal Liberty, which he claimed in the Counties of *Kerry*, *Cork*, and *Waterford*, by a Grant of King *Edward* the Firſt, (as appeareth in a *Quo warranto*, brought againſt him, *Anno* 12. *Edw.* 1) the Record whereof, remaineth in *Bremingham*'s Tower, among the Common-Plea Rolls there.

This

This Lord alſo, in the Third of *Edward* the Third, obtained a Grant of the like Liberty in the County of *Tipperary*, whereby he got the Law into his own Hands, and ſhut out the Common Law and Juſtice of the Realm.

And thus we ſee that all *Munſter* fell away from the *Engliſh Law* and Government, in the end of King *Edward* the Second, his Reign; and in the beginning of the Reign of King *Edward* the Third. Again, about the ſame time, (*viz.*) in the 20th Year of King *Edward* the Second, when the State of *England* was well nigh ruined by the Rebellion of the Barons, and the Government of *Ireland* utterly neglected, there aroſe in *Leinſter*, one of the *Cavanaghes*, named *Donald Mac Art*, who named himſelf *Mac Murrogh*, King of *Leinſter*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the County of *Catherlogh*, and of the greateſt Part of the County of *Wexford*. And ſhortly after *Liſagh O Moor*, called himſelf *O Moore*, took eight Caſtles in one Evening, deſtroyed *Duamaſe* the principal Houſe of the Lord *Mortimer* in *Leix*, recovered that whole Country, *De ſervo Dominus, de ſubjecto princeps affectus*, ſaith Friar *Clynn* in his Annals.

Beſides, the Earl of *Kildare*, imitating his Couſin of *Deſmond*, did not omit to make the like Uſe of Coigne and Livery in *Kildare*, and the Weſt Part of *Meath*, which brought the like Barbariſm into thoſe Parts. And thus a great Part of *Leinſter* was loſt, and fell away from the Obedience of the Crown, near about the time before expreſſed.

Again, in the ſeventh Year of King *Edward* the Third, the Lord *William Bourk*, Earl of *Ulſter*, and Lord of *Conaught*, was treacherouſly murdered by his own Squires at *Knockfergus*, leaving behind him, *Unicam & unius anni filium* (ſaith Friar *Clynn.*) Immediately upon the Murder committed, the Counteſs with her young Daughter fled into *England*; ſo as the Government of that Country, was wholly neglected, until that young Lady being married to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, that Prince came over with an Army, to recover his Wife's Inheritance,

tance, and to reform this Kingdom, *Anno* 36. of *Edward* the Third. But in the mean time, what became of that great Inheritance both in *Ulſter* and *Conaught*? Aſſuredly, in *Ulſter*, the Sept of *Hugh Boy O Neal*, then poſſeſſing *Glaucoukeyn* and *Killeightra* in *Tyrone*, took the Opportunity; and paſſing over the *Banne*, did firſt expel the *Engliſh* out of the Barony of *Tuſcard*, which is now called the *Rout*; and likewiſe, out of the *Glynnes* and other Lands up as far as *Knockfergus*, which Country, or Extent of Land, is at this day called the lower *Clan Hugh-Boy*. And ſhortly after that, they came up into the great *Ardes*; which the Latin Writers call, *Altitudines Ulſoniæ*, and was then the Inheritance of the *Savages*; by whom they were valiantly reſiſted for divers Years; but at laſt for want of Caſtles and Fortifications (for the ſaying of *Henry Savage* mentioned in every Story, is very memorable; That a Caſtle of *Bones* was better than a Caſtle of *Stones*) the *Engliſh* were over-run by the Multitude of the *Iriſhry*: So as about the Thirtieth of King *Edward* the Third; ſome few Years before the Arrival of the Duke of *Clarence*, the *Savages* were utterly driven out of the Great *Ardes*, into a little Nook of Land near the River of *Strangford*; where they now poſſeſs a little Territory, called the little *Ardes*; and their greater Patrimony took the Name of the upper *Clan Hugh-Boy*, from the Sept of *Hugh-Boy O Neal*, who became Invaders thereof.

For *Conaught*, ſome younger Branches of the Family of the *Bourkes*, being planted there by the *Red Earl* and his Anceſtors, ſeeing their Chief to be cut off, and dead without Heir-male, and no Man left to govern or protect that Province, intruded preſently into all the Earl's Lands, which ought to have been ſeized into the King's Hands, by reaſon of the Minority of the Heir. And within a ſhort ſpace, Two of the moſt potent among them, divided that great Seigniory betwixt them, the one taking the Name of *Mac William Oughtier*; and the other of *Mac William Eighter*; as if the Lord *William Bourke* the laſt Earl

of

of *Ulſter*, had left two Sons of one Name behind him to inherit that Lordſhip in courſe of Gavel-kind. But they well knew, that they were but Intruders upon the King's Poſſeſſion during the Minority of the Heir; they knew thoſe Lands were the rightful Inheritance of that young Lady; and conſequently, that the Law of *England* would ſpeedily evict them out of their Poſſeſſion; and therefore they held it the beſt Policy to caſt off the Yoak of *Engliſh* Law, and to become meer *Iriſh*: and according to their Example, drew all the reſt of the *Engliſh* in that Province, to do the like; ſo as from thenceforth they ſuffered their Poſſeſſions to run in courſe to *Taniſtry* and *Gavel-kind*. They changed their Names, Language, and Apparel, and all their civil Manners and Cuſtoms of living. Laſtly, about the 25th Year of King *Edward* the third, Sir *Richard de Clare* was ſlain in *Thomond*, and all the *Engliſh* Colonies there utterly ſupplanted.

Thus in that ſpace of Time, which was between the tenth Year of King *Edward* the ſecond, and the 30th Year of King *Edward* the Third, (I ſpeak within compaſs) by the Concurrence of the Miſchiefs before recited, all the old *Engliſh* Colonies in *Munſter*, *Conaught*, and *Ulſter*; and more than a third Part of *Leinſter*, became degenerate, and fell away from the Crown of *England*; ſo that only the four Shires of the *Engliſh* Pale, remained under the Obedience of the Law; and yet the Borders and Marches thereof, were grown unruly, and out of Order too, being ſubject to *Black-Rents* and *Tribute* of the *Iriſh*; which was a greater Defection, than when ten of twelve Tribes departed, and fell away from the Kings of *Juda*.

But was not the State of *England* ſenſible of this Loſs and Diſhonour? Did they not endeavour to recover the Land that was loſt, and to reduce the Subjects to their Obedience?

Truly King *Edward* the ſecond, by the Incurſions of the *Scottiſh* Nation, and by the Inſurrection of his Barons, who raiſed his Wife and his Son againſt him, and in the end depoſed him, was diverted and utterly diſabled

bled to reform the Diſorders of *Ireland*. But as ſoon as the Crown of *England* was transferred to King *Edward* the Third, though he was yet in his Minority, the State there began to look into the deſperate eſtate of Things here. And finding ſuch general Defection, Letters were ſent from the King to the great Men and Prelates, requiring them particularly to ſwear Fealty to the Crown of *England*.

Shortly after, Sir *Anthony Lucy*, a Perſon of great Authority in *England* in thoſe Days, was ſent over to work a Reformation in this Kingdom, by a ſevere Courſe; and to that end, the King wrote expreſly to the Earl of *Ulſter*, and others of the Nobility to aſſiſt him, as is before remembred; preſently upon his Arrival, he arreſted *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* Earl of *Deſmond*, and Sir *William Bremingham*, and committed them Priſoners to the Caſtle of *Dublin*; where Sir *William Bremingham* was executed for Treaſon, though the Earl of *Deſmond* was left to Mainprize, upon condition he ſhould appear before the King by a certain Day, and in the mean time to continue loyal.

After this, the King being advertiſed, that the over-large Grants of Lands and Liberties, made to the Lords of *Engliſh* Blood in *Ireland*, made them ſo inſolent, as they ſcorned to obey the Law, and the Magiſtrate, did abſolutely reſume all ſuch Grants, as is before declared. But the Earl of *Deſmond*, above all Men, found himſelf grieved with this Reſumption, or repeal of Liberties; and declared his diſlike and diſcontentment: inſomuch, as he did not only refuſe to come to a Parliament at *Dublin*, ſummoned by Sir *William Morris*, Deputy to the Lord *John Darcy*, the King's Lieutenant: But (as we have ſaid before) he raiſeth ſuch Diſſention between the *Engliſh* of Blood, and the *Engliſh* of Birth, as the like was never ſeen, from the Time of the firſt planting of our Nation in *Ireland*. And in this factious and ſeditious Humour, he drew the Earl of *Kildare*, and the reſt of the Nobility; with the Citizens and Burgeſſes of the principal Towns, to hold a ſeveral Parliament by themſelves,

at

at *Kilkenny*; where they framed certain Articles againſt the Deputy, and tranſmitted the ſame into *England* to the King

Hereupon, Sir *Ralph Ufford*, who had lately before married the Counteſs of *Ulſter*; a Man of Courage and Severity, was made Lord Juſtice: who forthwith calling a Parliament, ſent a ſpecial Commandment to the Earl of *Deſmond*, to appear in that great Council; but the Earl wilfully refuſed to come. Whereupon, the Lord Juſtice raiſed the King's Standard, and marching with an Army into *Munſter*, ſeized into the King's Hands all the Poſſeſſions of the Earl, took and executed his principal Followers, Sir *Euſtace le Poer*, Sir *William Graunt*, and Sir *John Cotterell*; enforced the Earl himſelf to fly and lurk, till 26 Noblemen and Knights, became Mainpernors for his Appearance at a certain Day prefixed: But he making default the ſecond Time, the uttermoſt Advantage was taken againſt his Sureties. Beſides, at the ſame time, this Lord Juſtice cauſed the Earl of *Kildare* to be arreſted, and committed to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, indicted and impriſon'd many other diſobedient Subjects, called in and cancelled ſuch Charters as were lately before reſumed; and proceeded every way ſo roundly and ſeverely, as the Nobility which were wont to ſuffer no Controulment, did much diſtaſte him; and the Commons, who in this Land have ever been more devoted to their immediate Lords here, whom they ſaw every Day, than unto their Sovereign Lord and King, whom they never ſaw, ſpake Ill of this Governor, as of a rigorous and cruel Man, though in truth he was a ſingular good Juſticer; and, if he had not died in the ſecond Year of his Government, was the likelieſt of that Age to have reformed and reduced the degenerate *Engliſh* Colonies, to their natural Obedience of the Crown of *England*.

Thus much then we may obſerve by the Way, that *Maurice Fitz-Thomas*, the firſt Earl of *Deſmond*, was the firſt *Engliſh* Lord that impoſed *Coigne* and *Livery* upon the King's Subjects; and the firſt that raiſed his Eſtate

to

to immoderate Greatneſs, by that wicked Extortion and Oppreſſion; that he was the firſt that rejected the *Engliſh* Laws and Government, and drew others by his Example to do the like; that he was the firſt Peer of *Ireland* that refuſed to come to the Parliament ſummoned by the King's Authority; that he was the firſt that made a Diviſion and Diſtinction between the *Engliſh* of Blood, and the *Engliſh* of Birth.

And as this Earl was the only Author and firſt Actor of theſe Miſchiefs, which gave the greateſt Impediment to the full Conqueſt of *Ireland*; ſo it is to be noted, that albeit others of his Rank afterwards offended in the ſame kind; whereby their Houſes were many times in danger of Ruin, yet was there not ever any noble Houſe of *Engliſh* Race in *Ireland*, utterly deſtroyed, and finally rooted out by the Hand of Juſtice, but the Houſe of *Deſmond* only; nor any Peer of this Realm ever put to Death (though divers have been attainted:) but *Thomas Fitz-James* the Earl of *Deſmond* only, and only for the wicked Cuſtoms brought in by the firſt Earl, and practiſed by his Poſterity, though by ſeveral Laws they were made High-Treaſon. And therefore, though in the 7th of *Edward* the 4th, during the Government of the Lord *Tiptoft* Earl of *Worceſter*, both the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Kildare* were attainted by Parliament at *Drogheda*, for Alliance and ſoſtering with the *Iriſh*; and for taking *Coign* and *Livery* of the King's Subjects, yet was *Deſmond* only put to Death; for the Earl of *Kildare* received his Pardon. And albeit, the Son of this Earl of *Deſmond* who loſt his Head at *Drogheda*, was reſtored to the Earldom, yet could not the King's Grace regenerate Obedience in that degenerate Houſe, but it grew rather more wild and barbarous than before. For from thenceforth they claimed a ſtrange Privilege, *That the Earls of Deſmond ſhould never come to any Parliament or grand Council, or within any walled Town, but at their Will and Pleaſure.* Which pretended Privilege, *James* Earl of *Deſmond*, the Father of *Girald* the laſt Earl, renounced and ſurrendred by his Deed, in the Chancery of *Ireland*,

the 32d of *Henry* the Eighth. At what time, among the meer *Iriſhry*, he ſubmitted himſelf to Sir *Anthony Saint-Leger*, then Lord-Deputy; took an Oath of Allegiance, covenanted that he would ſuffer the Law of *England* to be executed in his Country; and aſſiſt the King's Judges in their Circuits: And if any Subſidies ſhould be granted by Parliament, he would permit the ſame to be levied upon his Tenants and Followers. Which Covenants are as ſtrange as the Privilege it ſelf, ſpoken of before. But that which I conceive moſt worthy of Obſervation, upon the Fortunes of the Houſe of *Deſmond*, is this; that as *Maurice Fitz-Thomas*, the firſt Earl, did firſt raiſe the Greatneſs of that Houſe by *Iriſh* Exactions and Oppreſſions; ſo *Girald* the laſt Earl, did at laſt ruin and reduce it to nothing, by uſing the like Extortions. For certain it is, that the firſt Occaſion of his Rebellion, grew from hence, that when he attempted to charge the *Decies* in their County of *Waterford*, with *Coigne* and *Livery*, Black Rents and Coſheries, after the *Iriſh* Manner, he was reſiſted by the Earl of *Ormonde*, and upon an Encounter, overthrown and taken Priſoner; which made his Heart ſo unquiet, as it eaſily conceived Treaſon againſt the Crown, and brought forth actual and open Rebellion, wherein he periſhed himſelf, and made a final Extinguiſhment of his Houſe and Honour. Oppreſſion and Extortion did maintain the Greatneſs: And Oppreſſion and Extortion did extinguiſh the Greatneſs of that Houſe. Which may well be expreſt, by the old Emblem of a Torch turned downwards, with this Word, *Quod me alit, extinguit.*

Now let us return to the Courſe of Reformation, held and purſued here, after the Death of Sir *Ralph Ufford*, which happened in the twentieth Year of King *Edward* 3d. After which time, albeit all the Power and Council of *England* was converted towards the Conqueſt of *France*, yet was not the Work of Reformation altogether diſcontinued. For, in the 25th Year of King *Edward* the Third, Sir *Thomas Rookeby*, another worthy Governor (whom I have once before named) held a Parliament at

at *Kilkenny*, wherein many excellent Laws were propounded and enacted for the reducing of the *Engliſh* Colonies to their Obedience; which Laws we find enrolled in the Remembrancer's Office here; and differ not much in ſubſtance from thoſe other Statutes of *Kilkenny*, which not long after (during the Government of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*) were not only enacted, but put in Execution. This noble Prince having married the Daughter and Heir of *Ulſter*; and being likewiſe a Co-partner of the County of *Kilkenny*, in the 36th Year of King *Edward* the Third, came over the King's Lieutenant, attended with a good Retinue of Martial Men, as is before remembred, and a grave and honourable Council, as well for Peace, as for War. But becauſe this Army was not of a competent Strength to break and ſubdue all the *Iriſhry*, although he quieted the Borders of the *Engliſh* Pale, and held all *Ireland* in Awe with his Name and Preſence; the principal Service that he intended, was to reform the degenerate *Engliſh* Colonies, and to reduce them to Obedience of the *Engliſh* Laws and Magiſtrates. To that end, in the Fortieth Year of King *Edward* the Third, he held that famous Parliament at *Kilkenny*; wherein many notable Laws were enacted, which do ſhew and lay open (*For the Law doth beſt diſcover Enormities,*) how much the *Engliſh* Colonies were corrupted at that Time, and do infalliby prove that which is laid down before; That they were wholly degenerate, and fallen away from their Obedience. For firſt, it appeareth by the Preamble of theſe Laws, that the *Engliſh* of this Realm, before the coming over of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, were at that time become meer *Iriſh* in their Language, Names, Apparel, and their manner of Living, and had rejected the *Engliſh* Laws, and ſubmitted themſelves to the *Iriſh*, with whom they had many Marriages and Alliances, which tended to the utter Ruin and Deſtruction of the Commonwealth. Therefore Alliance by Marriage, *Nurture of Infants*, and *Goſſipred with the* Iriſh, are by this Statute made High-Treaſon. Again, if any Man of *Engliſh* Race, ſhould uſe any *Iriſh* Name, *Iriſh* Language, or

Iriſh Apparel, or any other Guiſe or Faſhion of the *I-*
ſh; if he had Lands or Tenements, the ſame ſhould
e ſeized, till he had given Security to the Chancery, to
nform himſelf in all Points to the *Engliſh* Manner of
ving. And if he had no Lands, his Body was to be
ken and impriſon'd, till he found Sureties, as afore-
id.

Again, it was eſtabliſhed and commanded, that the
gliſh in all their Controverſies, ſhould be ruled and go-
ern'd by the Common Laws of *England*: And if any
d ſubmit himſelf to the *Brehon* Law, or *March* Law,
ſhould be adjudged a Traytor.

Again, becauſe the *Engliſh* at that Time, made War
d Peace with the bordering Enemy at their Pleaſure;
ey were expreſly prohibited to levy War upon the
ſh, without ſpecial Warrant and Direction from the
ate.

Again, it was made penal to the *Engliſh* to permit the
ſh to creaght or graze upon their Lands: To preſent
em to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices; to receive them into a-
Monaſteries, or Religious Houſes, or to entertain a-
of their Minſtrels, or Rimers, or News-tellers: To
poſe or ſeſs any Horſe or Foot upon the *Engliſh* Sub-
cts againſt their Wills, was made Felony. And becauſe
e great Liberties of Franchiſes ſpoken of before, were
come Sanctuaries for all Malefactors, expreſs Power
as given to the King's Sheriffs, to enter into all Fran-
iſes, and there to apprehend all Felons and Traytors.
nd laſtly, becauſe the great Lords, when they levied For-
s for the publick Service, did lay unequal Burthens up-
n the Gentlemen and Freeholders, it was ordained that
ur Wardens of the Peace in every County, ſhould ſet
own and appoint what Men and Armour every Man
ould bear, according to his Freehold, or other Ability of
ſtate.

Theſe, and other Laws, tending to a general Reforma-
on, were enacted in that Parliament. And the Execu-
on of theſe Laws, together with the *Preſence of the King's*
n, made a notable Alteration in the State and Manners
of

of this People, within the ſpace of ſeven Years, which was the Term of this Prince's Lieutenancy.

For all the *Diſcourſes* that I have ſeen of the Decay of *Ireland*, do agree in this, that the Preſence of the Lord *Lionel*, and theſe Statutes of *Kilkenny*, did reſtore the *Engliſh* Government, in the degenerate Colonies, for divers Years. And the Statute of the tenth of *Henry* the ſeventh, which reviveth and confirmeth the Statutes of *Kilkenny*, doth confirm as much. For it declareth, that *as long as theſe Laws were put in Ure and Execution, this Land continued in Proſperity and Honour: And ſince they were not executed, the Subjects rebelled and digreſſed from their Allegiance, and the Land fell to Ruin and Deſolation.* And withal, we find the Effect of theſe Laws in the Pipe-Rolls, and Plea-Rolls of this Kingdom: For, from the 36th of *Edw.* 3. when this Prince entred into his Government, till the beginning of *Richard* the Second his Reign, we find the Revenue of the Crown both certain and caſual, in *Ulſter*, *Munſter*, and *Conaught*, accounted for; and that the King's Writ did run and the Common Law was executed in every of thoſe Provinces. I joyn with theſe Laws the perſonal Preſence of the King's Son, as a concurrent Cauſe of this Reformation: *Becauſe the People of this Land, both* Engliſh *and* Iriſh, *out of unnatural Pride, did ever love and deſire to be governed by great Perſons.* And therefore, I may here juſtly take occaſion to note, that firſt the Abſence of the Kings of *England*; and next, the Abſence of thoſe great Lords, who were Inheritors of thoſe mighty Seigniories of *Leinſter*, *Ulſter*, *Conaught*, and *Meath*; have been main Cauſes why this Kingdom was not reduced in ſo many Ages.

Touching the Abſence of our Kings, three of them only ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt, have made Royal Journies into this Land; namely, King *Henry* the ſecond, King *John*, and King *Richard* the ſecond. And yet they no ſooner arrived here, but that all the *Iriſhry* (as if they had been but one Man) ſubmitted themſelves; took Oaths of Fidelity, and gave Pledges and Hoſtages

to continue loyal. And if any of thoſe Kings had continued here in Perſon a competent time, till they had ſettled both *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* in their ſeveral Poſſeſſions, and had ſet the Law in a due Courſe throughout the Kingdom; theſe times wherein we live had not gained the Honour of the final Conqueſt and reducing of *Ireland*. For the King (ſaith *Salomon*) *diſſipat omne malum intuitu ſuo*. But when *Moſes* was abſent in the Mount, the People committed Idolatry; and when there was no King in *Iſrael*, every Man did what ſeemed beſt in his own Eyes.

And therefore, when *Alexander* had conquer'd the Eaſt part of the World, and demanded of one what was the fitteſt Place for the Seat of his Empire, he brought and laid a dry Hide before him, and deſired him to ſet his Foot on the one ſide thereof; which being done, all the other parts of the Hide did riſe up; but when he did ſet his Foot in the middle of the Hide, all the other parts lay flat and even: Which was a lively Demonſtration, that if a Prince keep his Reſidence in the Borders of his Dominions, the remote Parts will eaſily riſe and rebel againſt him: But if he make the Centre thereof his Seat, he ſhall eaſily keep them in Peace and Obedience.

Touching the Abſence of the great Lords: All Writers do impute the Decay and Loſs of *Leinſter* to the Abſence of theſe *Engliſh Lords*, who married the Five Daughters of *William Marſhal* Earl of *Pembroke*, (to whom that great Seigniory deſcended) when his Five Sons who inherited the ſame ſucceſſively, and during their Time, held the ſame in Peace and Obedience to the Law of *England*, were all dead without Iſſue: Which happen'd about the Fortieth Year of King *Henry* the Third: For the eldeſt being married to *Hugh Bigot*, Earl of *Norfolk*, who in right of his Wife, had the Marſhalſhip of *England*; the ſecond, to *Warren de Mountchenſey*, whoſe ſole Daughter and Heir was match'd to *William de Valentia*, half Brother to King *Henry* the Third, who by that Match was made Earl of *Pembroke*; The third, to *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Glouceſter*; the fourth to *William Ferrers* Earl of *Darby*;

Darby; the fifth to *William de Bruce*, Lord of *Brecknock*. Theſe great Lords, having greater Inheritances in their own Right in *England*, than they had in *Ireland* in right of their Wives (and yet each of the Coparceners, had an entire County allotted for her Purparty, as is before declared) could not be drawn to make their perſonal Reſidence in this Kingdom; but managed their Eſtates here, by their *Seneſchals* and *Servants*. And to defend their Territories againſt the bordering *Iriſh*, they entertained ſome of the Natives, who pretended a perpetual Title to thoſe great Lordſhips. For the *Iriſh*, after a thouſand Conqueſts and Attainders by our Law, would in thoſe Days pretend Title ſtill, becauſe by the *Iriſh Law* no Man could forfeit his Land. Theſe Natives taking the Opportunity in weak and deſperate Times, uſurped thoſe Seigniories; and ſo *Donald mac Art Cavanagh*, being entertained by the Earl of *Norfolk*, made himſelf Lord of the County of *Catherlough*: And *Liſagh O Moor* being truſted by the Lord *Mortimer*, who married the Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Bruce*, made himſelf Lord of the Lands in *Leix*, in the latter end of King *Edward* the ſecond's Reign, as is before declared.

Again, the Decay and Loſs of *Ulſter* and *Conaught*, is attributed to this; that the Lord *William Bourk*, the laſt Earl of that Name, died without Iſſue-Male; whoſe Anceſtors, namely, the *Red Earl*, and Sir *Hugh de Lacy*, before him, being perſonally reſident, held up their Greatneſs there, and kept the *Engliſh* in Peace, and the *Iriſh* in Awe: But when thoſe Provinces deſcended upon an *Heir Female*, and an *Infant*, the *Iriſh* over-run *Ulſter*, and the younger Branches of the *Bourkes* uſurped *Conaught*. And therefore the Ordinance made in *England*, the 3d of *Richard* the Second, againſt ſuch as were abſent from their Lands in *Ireland*, and gave two third Parts of the Profits unto the King, until they returned, or placed a ſufficient Number of Men to defend the ſame, was grounded upon good Reaſon of State: Which Ordinance was put in Execution for many Years after, as appeareth by ſundry Seizures made thereupon, in the time of King *Richard*

Richard the ſecond, *Henry* the fourth, *Henry* the fifth, and *Henry* the ſixth, whereof there remain Records in the Remembrancer's Office here. Among the reſt, the Duke of *Norfolk* himſelf was not ſpared, but was impleaded upon this Ordinance, for two Parts of the Profits of *Dorburies* Iſland, and other Lands in the County of *Wexford*, in the time of King *Henry* the ſixth. And afterwards, upon the ſame reaſon of State, all the Lands of the Houſe of *Norfolk*, of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Barkley*, and others (who having Lands in *Ireland*, kept their continual Reſidence in *England*) were entirely reſumed by the Act of Abſentees, made in the 28th Year of King *Henry* the Eighth.

But now again, let us look back and ſee, how long the Effect of that Reformation did continue, which was begun by *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, in the Fortieth Year of King *Edward* the Third, and what Courſes have been held, to reduce and reform this People, by other Lieutenants and Governors ſince that time.

The *Engliſh* Colonies being in ſome good Meaſure reformed by the Statutes of *Kilkenny*, did not utterly fall away into Barbariſm again, till the Wars of the Two Houſes had almoſt deſtroyed both theſe Kingdoms; for in that miſerable Time, the *Iriſh* found Opportunity, without Oppoſition, to baniſh the *Engliſh Law* and *Government* out of all the Provinces, and to confine it only to the *Engliſh Pale*: Howbeit, in the mean time, between the Government of the Duke of *Clarence*, and the beginning of thoſe Civil Wars of *York* and *Lancaſter*, we find that the State of *England* did ſundry times reſolve to proceed in this Work of Reformation.

For firſt, King *Richard* 2d. ſent over Sir *Nicholas Dagworth* to ſurvey the Poſſeſſions of the Crown, and to call to account the Officers of the Revenue: Next (to draw his *Engliſh* Subjects to manure and defend their Lands in *Ireland*) he made that Ordinance againſt Abſentees, ſpoken of before: Again, he ſhewed an excellent Example of Juſtice upon Sir *Philip Courtney*, being his Lieutenant of that Kingdom, when he cauſed him to be

arreſted by ſpecial Commiſſioners, upon Complaint made of ſundry grievous Oppreſſions and Wrongs, which, during his Government, he had done unto that People.

After this, the Parliament of *England* did reſolve that *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the King's Uncle, ſhould be employ'd in the Reformation and reducing of that Kingdom; the Fame whereof was no ſooner bruited in *Ireland*, but all the *Iriſhry* were ready to ſubmit themſelves before his coming: ſo much the very Name of a great Perſonage, eſpecially of a Prince of the Blood, did ever prevail with this People. But the King and his Minions, who were ever jealous of this Duke of *Gloceſter*, would not ſuffer him to have the Honour of that Service; but the King himſelf thought it a Work worthy of his own Preſence and Pains; and thereupon he made thoſe two Royal Journies mentioned before; at which time he received the Submiſſions of all the *Iriſh* Lords and Captains, who bound themſelves both by Indenture and Oath to become and continue his loyal Subjects. And withal, laid a particular Project for a civil Plantation of the Mountains and maritime Counties, between *Dublin* and *Wexford*, by removing all the *Iriſh* Septs from thence, as appeareth by the Covenants between the Earl Marſhal of *England* and thoſe *Iriſh* Septs, which are before remembred, and are yet preſerved, and remain of Record in the King's Remembrancer's Office at *Weſtminſter*. Laſtly, this King being preſent in *Ireland*, took ſpecial Care to ſupply and furniſh the Courts of Juſtice with able and ſufficient Judges; and, to that end, he made that grave and learned Judge, Sir *William Hankeford*, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench here (who afterwards for his Service in this Realm was made Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench in *England*, by King *Henry* 4.) and did withal aſſociate unto him *William Sturmy*, a well-learned Man in the Law, who likewiſe came out of *England* with the King, that the legal Proceedings, which were out of Order too (as all other Things in this Realm were) might be amended, and made formal, according to the Courſe and Precedents of *England*. But all the good Purpoſes and Projects of this King

King were interrupted and utterly defeated by his ſudden Departure out of *Ireland*, and unhappy Depoſition from the Crown of *England*.

Howbeit, King *Henry* the Fourth intending likewiſe to proſecute this noble Work, in the 3d Year of his Reign made the Lord *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, his ſecond Son, Lieutenant of *Ireland*: Who came over in Perſon and accepted again the Submiſſions of divers Lords and Captains, as is before remembred; and held alſo a Parliament, wherein he gave new Life to the Statutes of *Kilkenny*, and made other good Laws tending to the Reformation of the Kingdom. But the Troubles raiſed againſt the King, his Father, in *England*, drew him home again ſo ſoon, as that ſeed of Reformation took no Root at all, neither had his Service in that kind any good Effect or Succeſs.

After this, the State of *England* had no leiſure to think of a general Reformation in this Realm, till the civil Diſſentions in *England* were appeaſed, and the Peace of that Kingdom ſettled by King *Henry* the ſeventh.

For albeit, in the time of King *Henry* the 6th, *Richard* Duke of *York*, a Prince of the Blood, of great Wiſdom and Valour, and Heir to a third part of the Kingdom at leaſt, being Earl of *Ulſter* and Lord of *Conaught* and *Meath*, was ſent the King's Lieutenant into *Ireland*, to recover and reform that Realm; where he was reſident in Perſon for the greateſt part of Ten Years, yet the Truth is, he aimed at another Mark, which was the Crown of *England*; and therefore he thought it no Policy to diſtaſte either the *Engliſh* or *Iriſh* by a Courſe of Reformation, but ſought by all Means to pleaſe them, and by popular Courſes to ſteal away their Hearts, to the end he might ſtrengthen his Party when he ſhould ſet on Foot his Title, as is before declared: (which Policy of his took ſuch effect as that he drew over with him into *England* the Flower of all the *Engliſh* Colonies, eſpecially of *Ulſter* and *Meath*, whereof many Noblemen and Gentlemen were ſlain with him at *Wakefield*, (as is likewiſe before remembred.) And after his Death, when

the Wars between the two Houſes were in their Heat, almoſt all the good *Engliſh* Blood, which was left in *Ireland*, was ſpent in thoſe civil Diſſentions; ſo as the *Iriſh* became victorious over all, *without Blood or Sweat*: Only that little Canton of Land call'd the *Engliſh* Pale, containing Four ſmall Shires, did maintain a bordering War with the *Iriſh*, and retain the Form of *Engliſh* Government.

But out of that little Precinct there were no Knights, Lords, or Burgeſſes ſummoned to the Parliament; neither did the King's Writ run in any other part of the Kingdom; and yet upon the Marches and Borders, which at that time were grown ſo large, as they took up half *Dublin*, half *Meath*, and a third part of *Kildare* and *Lowth*; there was no Law in uſe but the *March-Law*, which in the Statutes of *Kilkenny* is ſaid to be no Law, but a lewd Cuſtom.

So as upon the end of theſe civil Wars in *England*, the *Engliſh* Law and Government was well nigh baniſh'd out of *Ireland*, ſo as no Foot-ſtep or Print was left of any former Reformation.

Then did King *Henry* 7th, ſend over Sir *Edward Poynings* to be his Deputy, a right worthy Servitor, both in War and Peace: The principal end of his Employment was to expel *Perkin Warbeck* out of this Kingdom; but that Service being performed, that worthy Deputy finding nothing but a common Miſery, took the beſt Courſe he poſſibly could to eſtabliſh a Commonwealth in *Ireland*: and to that end he held a Parliament, no leſs famous than that of *Kilkenny*, and more available for the Reformation of the whole Kingdom. For whereas all wiſe Men did ever concur in Opinion, that the readieſt Way to reform *Ireland*, is to ſettle a Form of civil Government there, conformable to that of *England*: To bring this to paſs, Sir *Edward Poynings* did paſs an Act whereby all the Statutes made in *England* before that Time, were enacted, eſtabliſhed, and made of Force in *Ireland*. Neither did he only reſpect the time paſt, but provided alſo for the time to come; for he cauſed another

Law

Law to be made, that no Act ſhould be propounded in any Parliament of *Ireland*, but ſuch as ſhould be firſt tranſmitted into *England*, and approved by the King and Council there, as good and expedient for that Land, and ſo returned back again under the Great-Seal of *England*. This Act, though it ſeem, *Prima facie*, to reſtrain the Liberties of the Subjects of *Ireland*, yet was it made at the Prayer of the Commons, upon juſt and important Cauſe.

For the Governors of that Realm, eſpecially ſuch as were of that Country Birth, had laid many Oppreſſions upon the Commons; and among the reſt, they had impoſed Laws upon them, not tending to the general Good, but to ſerve private Turns, and to ſtrengthen their particular Factions. This moved them to refer all Laws that were to be paſſed in *Ireland*, to be conſider'd, corrected, and allowed, firſt by the State of *England*, which had always been tender and careful of the Good of this People, and had long ſince made them a civil, rich, and happy Nation, if their own Lords and Governors there had not ſent bad Intelligence into *England*. Beſides this, he took eſpecial Order, that the Summons of Parliament ſhould go into all the Shires of *Ireland*, and not to the Four Shires only; and for that Cauſe eſpecially, he cauſed all the Acts of Parliament lately before holden by the Viſcount of *Gormanſtown*, to be repealed and made void. Moreover, that the Parliaments of *Ireland* might want no decent or honourable Form that was uſed in *England*, he cauſed a particular Act to paſs, that the Lords of *Ireland* ſhould appear in the like Parliament Robes as the *Engliſh* Lords are wont to wear in the Parliaments of *England*. Having thus eſtabliſh'd all the Statutes of *England* in *Ireland*, and ſet in order the great Council of that Realm, he did not omit to paſs other Laws, as well for the encreaſe of the King's Revenue, as the Preſervation of the publick Peace.

To advance the Profits of the Crown, firſt he obtain'd a Subſidy of 26 Shillings and 8 Pence out of every 120 Acres manured, payable yearly for five Years: Next, he

reſumed all the Crown-Land which had been alienated (for the moſt part) by *Richard* Duke of *York*: and laſtly, he procured a Subſidy of Poundage out of all Merchandizes imported and exported, to be granted to the Crown in Perpetuity.

To preſerve the publick Peace, he revived the Statutes of *Kilkenny*: He made wilful Murder High-Treaſon; he cauſed the Marchers to book their Men, for whom they ſhould anſwer; and reſtrained the making War or Peace without ſpecial Commiſſion from the State.

Theſe Laws, and others as important as theſe, for the making of a Commonwealth in *Ireland*, were made in the Government of Sir *Edward Poynings*. But theſe Laws did not ſpread their Virtue beyond the *Engliſh* Pale, though they were made generally for the whole Kingdom; for the Provinces without the Pale, which during the War of *York* and *Lancaſter*, had wholly caſt off the *Engliſh* Government, were not apt to receive this Seed of Reformation, becauſe they were not firſt broken and maſter'd again with the Sword. Beſides, the *Iriſh* Countries, which contained two third parts of the Kingdom, were not reduced to Shire-ground; ſo as in them the Laws of *England* could not poſſibly be put in Execution: Therefore theſe good Laws and Proviſions made by Sir *Edward Poynings*, were like good Leſſons ſet for a Lute that is broken and out of Tune, of which Leſſons little uſe can be made till the Lute be made fit to be play'd upon.

And that the Execution of all theſe Laws had no greater Latitude than the Pale, is manifeſt by the Statute of the thirteenth of *Henry* the Eighth, *cap.* 3. which reciteth, that at that time the King's Laws were obeyed and executed in the Four Shires only; and yet then was the Earl of *Surrey* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, a Governour much feared of the King's Enemies, and exceedingly honour'd and beloved of the King's Subjects. And the Inſtructions given by the State of *Ireland* to *John Allen*, Maſter of the Rolls, employed into *England* near about the ſame time, do declare as much; wherein, among other

ther Things, he is required to advertiſe the King, that his Land of *Ireland* was ſo much decayed as that the King's Laws were not obeyed twenty Miles in compaſs: Whereupon grew that By-word uſed by the *Iriſh*, viz. *That they dwelt by-weſt the Law, which dwelt beyond the River of the* Barrow, which is within thirty Miles of *Dublin*. The ſame is teſtify'd by Baron *Finglas* in his Diſcourſe of the Decay of *Ireland*, which he wrote about the twentieth Year of King *Henry* the Eighth. And thus we ſee the Effect of the Reformation which was intended by Sir *Edward Poynings*.

The next Attempt of Reformation was made in the 28th Year of King *Henry* the Eighth, by the Lord *Leonard Gray*, who was created Viſcount of *Crane* in this Kingdom, and held a Parliament, wherein many excellent Laws were made: But to prepare the Minds of the People to obey theſe Laws, he began firſt with a martial Courſe: for being ſent over to ſuppreſs the Rebellion of the *Giraldines* (which he performed in a few Months) he afterwards made a victorious Circuit round about the Kingdom, beginning in *Offaly* againſt *O Connor*, who had aided the *Giraldines* in their Rebellion; and from thence paſſing along through all the *Iriſh* Countries in *Leinſter*, and ſo into *Munſter*, where he took Pledges of the degenerate Earl of *Deſmond*, and thence into *Conaught*, and thence into *Ulſter*; and then concluded this warlike Progreſs with the Battle of *Belahoo*, in the Borders of *Meath*, as is before remembred.

The principal Septs of the *Iriſhry* being all terrified, and moſt of them broken in this Journey, many of their chief Lords upon this Deputy's Return, came to *Dublin*, and made their Submiſſions to the Crown of *England*; namely, the *O Neals* and *O Relies* of *Ulſter*, *Mac Murrogh*, *O Birn*, and *O Carol* of *Leinſter*, and the *Bourks* of *Conaught*.

This Preparation being made, he firſt propounded and paſſed in Parliament theſe Laws, which made the great Alteration in the *State Eccleſiaſtical*; namely, the *Act*

which declared King *Henry* 8th to be ſupreme Head of the Church of *Ireland*; the Act prohibiting Appeals to the Church of *Rome*; the Act for Firſt Fruits and twentieth part to be paid to the King; the Act for Faculties and Diſpenſations; and laſtly, the Act that did utterly aboliſh the uſurped Authority of the Pope. Next, for the Encreaſe of the King's Revenue; by one Act he ſuppreſſed ſundry Abbies and Religious Houſes; and by another Act reſumed the Lands of the Abſentees, (as is before remembred.)

And for the Civil Government, a ſpecial Statute was made, to aboliſh the Black-Rents and Tributes, exacted by the *Iriſh*, upon the *Engliſh Colonies*; and another Law enacted, That the *Engliſh Apparel*, *Language*, and manner of *Living*, ſhould be uſed by all ſuch as would acknowledge themſelves the King's Subjects. This Parliament being ended, the Lord *Leonard Gray* was ſuddenly revok'd, and put to Death in *England*, ſo as he lived not to finiſh the Work of Reformation, which he had begun; which notwithſtanding was well purſued by his Succeſſor Sir *Anthony Saint Leger*; unto whom all the Lords and Chieftains of the *Iriſhry*, and of the degenerate *Engliſh* throughout the Kingdom, made their ſeveral Submiſſions by Indenture (which was the Fourth general Submiſſion of the *Iriſh*, made ſince the firſt Attempt of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*) whereof the Firſt was made to King *Henry* the ſecond; the Second to King *John*; the Third to King *Richard* the ſecond; and the laſt to Sir *Anthony Saint Leger*, in 33 *H.* 8.

In theſe Indentures of Submiſſion, all the *Iriſh* Lords do acknowledge King *Henry* the Eighth to be their Sovereign Lord and King, and deſire to be accepted of him as Subjects. They confeſs the King's Supremacy in all Cauſes, and do utterly renounce the Pope's Juriſdiction, which I conceive to be worth the Noting; becauſe, *when the* Iriſh *had once reſolved to obey the King, they made no Scruple to renounce the Pope.* And this was not only done by the meer *Iriſh*, but the Chief of the degenerate *Engliſh Families* did perform the ſame; as *Deſmond*, *Barry*,

ry, and *Roche*, in *Munſter*; and the *Bourks*, which bore the Title of *Mac William*, in *Conaught*.

Theſe Submiſſions being thus taken, the Lord Deputy and Council, for the preſent Government of thoſe *Iriſh* Countries, made certain Ordinances of State, not agreeable altogether with the Rules of the Law of *England*; the reaſon whereof is expreſs'd in the Preamble of thoſe Ordinances; *Quia nondum ſic ſapiunt leges & Jura, ut ſecundum ea jam immediate vivere & regi poſſint.* The chief Points or Articles of which Orders regiſtred in the Council-book, are theſe: That King *Henry* the Eighth ſhould be accepted, reputed, and named King of *Ireland*, by all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom; that all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould be permitted to exerciſe their Juriſdiction in every Dioceſs throughout the Land: That Tythes ſhould be duly ſet out, and paid; that Children ſhould not be admitted to Benefices; that for every Manſlaughter, and Theft above Fourteen Pence, committed in the *Iriſh Countries*, the Offender ſhould pay a Fine of Forty Pound, Twenty Pound to the King, and Twenty Pound to the Captain of the Country; and for every Theft under Fourteen Pence, a Fine of five Marks ſhould be paid, Forty-ſix Shillings and Eight Pence to the Captain, and Twenty Shillings to the *Taniſter*: That *Horſemen* and *Kearn* ſhould not be impoſed upon the common People to be fed and maintained by them; that the Maſter ſhould anſwer for his Servants, and the Father for his Children: That *Cuttings* ſhould not be made by the Lord upon his Tenants, to maintain War with his Neighbours, but only to bear his neceſſary Expences, *&c.*

Theſe Ordinances of State being made and publiſhed, there were nominated and appointed in every Province, certain Orderers or Arbitrators, who inſtead of theſe *Iriſh Brehons*, ſhould hear and determine all their Controverſies. In *Conaught*, the Arch-biſhop of *Tuam*, the Biſhop of *Clonfert*, Captain *Wakely*, and Captain *Ovington*. In *Munſter*, the Biſhop of *Waterford*, the Biſhop of *Cork*

and *Roſs*, the Mayor of *Cork*, and Mayor of *Youghal*. In *Ulſter*, the Archbiſhop of *Ardmagh*, and the Lord of *Lowth*. And if any Difference did ariſe which they could not end, either for the Difficulty of the Cauſe, or for the Obſtinacy of the Parties, they were to certifie the Lord Deputy and Council, who would decide the matter by their Authority.

Hereupon the *Iriſh Captains* of leſſer Territories, which had ever been oppreſſed by the greater and mightier; ſome with Riſings out, others with *Bonaght*, and others with *Cuttings*, and ſpendings at Pleaſure, did appeal for Juſtice to the Lord Deputy; who upon hearing their Complaints, did always order, that they ſhould all immediately depend upon the King; and that the weaker ſhould have no Dependency upon the ſtronger.

Laſtly, he prevailed ſo much with the greateſt of them; namely, *O Neale*, *O Brien*, and *Mac William*, as that they willingly did paſs into *England*, and preſented themſelves to the King, who thereupon was pleaſed to advance them to the Degree and Honour of Earls, and to grant unto them their ſeveral Countries, by *Letters-Patents*. Beſides, that they might learn Obedience and Civility of Manners, by often repairing unto the State; the King, upon the Motion of the ſame Deputy, gave each of them a Houſe and Lands near *Dublin*, for the Entertainment of their ſeveral Trains.

This Courſe did this Governor take to reform the *Iriſhry*; but withal, he did not omit to advance both the Honour and Profit of the King. For in the Parliament which he held the 33d of *Henry* the Eighth, he cauſed an Act to paſs, which gave unto King *Henry* the Eighth, his Heirs and Succeſſors, the Name, Stile, and Title of King of *Ireland*; whereas before that time, the Kings of *England* were ſtiled but *Lords* of *Ireland*: Albeit indeed, they were abſolute Monarchs thereof, and had in right all Royal and Imperial Juriſdiction and Power there as they had in the Realm of *England*. And yet becauſe in the vulgar Conceit, the Name of *King* is higher than the Name of *Lord*; Aſſuredly, the aſſuming of this T

tle hath not a little raiſed the Sovereignty of the King of *England* in the Minds of this People: Laſtly, this Deputy brought a great Augmentation to the King's Revenue, by diſſolving of all the Monaſteries and Religious Houſes in *Ireland*, which was done in the ſame Parliament; and afterward, by procuring *Min* and *Cavendiſh*, two skilful Auditors, to be ſent over out of *England*, who took an exact Survey of all the Poſſeſſions of the Crown, and brought many Things into charge, which had been concealed and ſubſtracted for many Years before. And thus far did Sir *Anthony Saint Leger* proceed in the courſe of Reformation; which though it were a good beginning, yet was it far from reducing *Ireland* to the perfect Obedience of the Crown of *England*. For all this while, the Provinces of *Conaught* and *Ulſter*, and a good part of *Leinſter*, were not reduced to Shire-ground. And though *Munſter* was anciently divided into Counties, the People were ſo degenerate, as no Juſtice of Aſſize durſt execute his Commiſſion amongſt them. None of the *Iriſh* Lords or Tenants were ſettled in their Poſſeſſions, by any Grant or Confirmation from the Crown, except the three great Earls before named; who notwithſtanding, did govern their Tenants and Followers, by the *Iriſh* or *Brehon* Law; ſo as no Treaſon, Murder, Rape, or Theft, committed in thoſe Countries, was enquired of, or puniſh'd by the Law of *England*; and conſequently, no Eſcheat, Forfeiture, or Fine; no Revenue (certain or caſual) did accrue to the Crown out of thoſe Provinces.

The next worthy Governor that endeavoured to advance this Reformation, was *Thomas* Earl of *Suſſex*; who having thoroughly broken and ſubdued the two moſt rebellious and powerful *Iriſh Septs* in *Leinſter*; namely, the *Moores* and O *Connors*, poſſeſſing the Territories of *Leix* and *Offaly*, did by Act of Parliament, in the 3d and 4th of *Phil.* and *Mariæ*, reduce thoſe Countries into two ſeveral Counties; namely, the one, the *King*'s, and the other, the *Queen*'s County; which were the firſt two Counties that had been made in this Kingdom ſince the

the twelfth Year of King *John*; at which Time the Territories then poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh Colonies* were Reduced into Twelve Shires, as is before expreſſed.

This noble Earl having thus extended the Juriſdiction of the *Engliſh Law* into two Counties more, was not ſatisfied with that Addition, but took a Reſolution to divide all the reſt of the *Iriſh Countries* un-reduc'd, into ſeveral Shires; and to that end he cauſed an Act to paſs in the ſame Parliament, authorizing the Lord Chancellor, from time to time, to award Commiſſions to ſuch Perſons as the Lord Deputy ſhould nominate and appoint, to view and perambulate thoſe *Iriſh Territories*; and thereupon, to divide and limit the ſame into ſuch and ſo many ſeveral Counties as they ſhould think meet; which being certified to the Lord Deputy, and approved by him, ſhould be returned and enrolled in the Chancery, and from thenceforth be of like Force and Effect, as if it were done by Act of Parliament.

Thus did the Earl of *Suſſex* lay open a Paſſage for the Civil Government into the unreform'd Parts of this Kingdom, but himſelf proceeded no further than is before declared.

Howbeit afterwards, during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Henry Sidney* (who hath left behind him many Monuments of a good Governor in this Land) did not only purſue that Courſe which the Earl of *Suſſex* began, in reducing the *Iriſh Countries* into Shires, and placing therein Sheriffs and other Miniſters of the Law; (for firſt he made the *Annaly*, a Territory in *Leinſter*, poſſeſſed by the Sept of *Offerralles*, one entire Shire by itſelf, and call'd it the County of *Longford*; and after that he divided the whole Province of *Conaught* into ſix Counties more; namely, *Clare*, (which containeth all *Thomond*, *Galloway*, *Sligo*, *Mayo*, *Roſcommon*, and *Leitrim*:) But he alſo had cauſed divers good Laws to be made, and performed ſundry other Services, tending greatly to the Reformation of this Kingdom. For firſt, to diminiſh the Greatneſs of the *Iriſh* Lords, and to take from them the Dependency of the common People, in the Parliament which

which he held 11 *Eliz.* He did aboliſh their pretended and uſurped Captainſhips, and all Exactions and Extortions incident thereunto. Next, to ſettle their Seigniories and Poſſeſſions in a Courſe of Inheritance, according to the courſe of the common Law, he cauſed an Act to paſs, whereby the Lord Deputy was authorized to accept their Surrenders, and to re-grant Eſtates unto them, to hold of the Crown by *Engliſh* Tenures and Services. Again, becauſe the inferior ſort were looſe and poor, and not ameſneable to the Law; he provided by another Act, that the beſt and eldeſt Perſons of every Sept, ſhould bring in all the idle Perſons of their Surname, to be juſtified by the Law. Moreover, to give a civil Education to the Youth of this Land in the time to come, Proviſion was made by another Law, that there ſhould be one Free-School, at leaſt, erected in every Dioceſs of the Kingdom. And laſtly, to inure and acquaint the People of *Munſter* and *Conaught*, with the *Engliſh* Government again (which had not been in uſe among them for the ſpace of 200 Years before:) he inſtituted two Preſidency Courts in thoſe two Provinces, placing Sir *Edward Fitton* in *Conaught*, and Sir *John Perrot* in *Munſter*.

To augment the King's Revenue in the ſame Parliament, upon the Attainder of *Shane O Neale*, he reſumed and veſted in the Crown more than half the Province of *Ulſter*: He raiſed the Cuſtoms upon the principal Commodities of the Kingdom: He reformed the Abuſes of the Exchequer, by many good Orders and Inſtructions ſent out of *England*; and laſtly, he eſtabliſh'd the Compoſition of the *Pale*, in lieu of Purveyance and Seſs of Soldiers.

Theſe were good Proceedings in the Work of Reformation, but there were many Defects and Omiſſions withal: for though he reduc'd all *Conaught* into Counties, he never ſent any Juſtices of Aſſize to viſit that Province, but plac'd Commiſſioners there, who govern'd it only in *a Courſe of Diſcretion*; part Martial and part Civil. Again in the Law that doth aboliſh the *Iriſh* Captain-ſhips, he

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gave way for the reviving thereof again, by excepting ſuch, as ſhould be granted by Letters Patents from the Crown; which Exception did indeed take away the Force of that Law. For no Governor during Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, did refuſe to grant any of thoſe Captain-ſhips to any pretended *Iriſh* Lord, who would *Deſire*, and with his Thankfulneſs *Deſerve* the ſame. And again, though the greateſt part of *Ulſter* were veſted by Act of Parliament in the actual and real Poſſeſſion of the Crown; yet was there never any Seizure made thereof, nor any part thereof brought into Charge, but the *Iriſh* were permitted to take all the Profits, without rendering any Duty or Acknowledgment for the ſame; and though the Name of O *Neale* was damned by that Act, and the aſſuming thereof made High-Treaſon; yet after that, was *Tirlegh Leynnogh* ſuffered to bear that Title, and to intrude upon the Poſſeſſions of the Crown, and was yet often entertained by the State with Favour. Neither were theſe Lands reſumed by the Act of the 11th of *Elizabeth*, neglected only (for the Abbies and Religious Houſes in *Tyrone*, *Tirconnell*, and *Fermanagh*, though they were diſſolved in the 33d of *Henry* the Eighth, were never ſurveyed nor reduced into Charge, but were continually poſſeſt by the religious Perſons) until His Majeſty that now is, came to the Crown: and that which is more ſtrange, the Donations of Biſhopricks, being a Flower of the Crown (which the Kings of *England* did ever retain in all their Dominions, when the Popes uſurped Authority was at the higheſt.) There were three Biſhopricks in *Ulſter*; namely, *Derry*, *Rapho*, and *Clogher*, which neither Queen *Elizabeth*, nor any of her Progenitors did ever beſtow, though they were the undoubted Patrons thereof. So as King *James* was the firſt King of *England* that did ever ſupply thoſe Sees with Biſhops, which is an Argument either of great Negligence, or of great Weakneſs in the State and Governors of thoſe Times. And thus far proceeded Sir *Henry Sidney*.

After him, Sir *John Perrot*, who held the laſt Parliament in this Kingdom, did advance the Reformation in three

three principal Points. Firſt, in eſtabliſhing the great Compoſition of *Conaught*, in which Service the Wiſdom and Induſtry of Sir *Richard Bingham* did concur with him: Next, in reducing the un-reform'd parts of *Ulſter*, into ſeven Shires; namely, *Ardmagh*, *Monaghan*, *Tyrone*, *Colerain*, *Donagall*, *Fermanagh*, and *Cavan*; though in his time the Law was never executed in theſe new Counties by any Sheriffs or Juſtices of Aſſize, but the People left to be ruled ſtill by their own barbarous *Lords* and *Laws*: And laſtly, by veſting in the Crown the Lands of *Deſmond* and his Adherents in *Munſter*, and planting the ſame with *Engliſh*, though that Plantation was imperfect in many Points.

After Sir *John Perrot*, Sir *William Fitz-Williams* did good Service in two other Points. Firſt, in raiſing a Compoſition in *Munſter*; and then, in ſettling the Poſſeſſions both of the Lords and Tenants in *Monaghan*, which was one of the laſt Acts of State, tending to the Reformation of the civil Government that was performed in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Thus we ſee by what Degrees, and what Policy and Succeſs the Governors of this Land from time to time, ſince the beginning of the Reign of King *Edward* the third, have endeavoured to reform and reduce this People to the perfect Obedience of the Crown of *England*; And we find, that before the Civil Wars of *York* and *Lancaſter*, they did chiefly endeavour to bring back the degenerate *Engliſh* Colonies to their Duty and Allegiance, not reſpecting the meer *Iriſh*, whom they reputed as Aliens or Enemies of the Crown. But after King *Henry* the 7th had united the Roſes, they laboured to reduce both *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* together: which Work, to what Paſs and Perfection it was brought in the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, hath been before declared.

Whereof ſometimes when I do conſider, I do in mine own Conceit compare theſe later Governors, who went about to reform the Civil Affairs in *Ireland*, unto ſome of the Kings of *Iſrael*, of whom it is ſaid, That they were good *Kings*; they did not cut down the Groves and

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High-places, but ſuffer'd the People ſtill to burn Incenſe, and commit Idolatry in them: So Sir *Anthony Saint-Leger*, the Earl of *Suſſex*, Sir *Henry Sidney*, and Sir *John Perrot*, were good Governors, but they did not aboliſh the *Iriſh* Cuſtoms, nor execute the Law in the *Iriſh* Countries, but ſuffer'd the People to worſhip their barbarous Lords, and to remain utterly ignorant of their Duties to God and the King.

And now I am come to the happy Reign of my moſt Gracious Lord and Maſter King *James*; in whoſe Time, *as there hath been a Concurrence of many great Felicities*: ſo this among others may be numbred in the firſt Rank; that all the Defects in the Government of *Ireland* ſpoken of before, have been fully ſupplied in the firſt nine Years of his Reign. In which time there hath been more done in the Work and Reformation of this *Kingdom*, than in the 440 Years, which are paſt ſince the Conqueſt was firſt attempted.

Howbeit, I have no purpoſe in this Diſcourſe, to ſet forth at large all the Proceeedings of the State here in reforming of this Kingdom, ſince his Majeſty came to the Crown, for the Parts and Paſſages thereof are ſo many, as to expreſs them fully, would require ſeveral Treatiſes. Beſides, I for my Part, ſince I have not flatter'd the former Times, but have plainly laid open the Negligence and Errors of every Age that is paſt, would not willingly ſeem to flatter the preſent, by amplifying the Diligence and true Judgment of thoſe Servitors, that have laboured in this Vineyard ſince the beginning of his Majeſty's happy Reign.

I ſhall therefore ſummarily, without any Amplification at all, ſhew in what Manner, and by what Degrees, all the Defects which I have noted before in the Government of this Kingdom, have been ſupplied ſince His Majeſty's happy Reign began; and ſo conclude thoſe Obſervations concerning the State of *Ireland*.

Firſt then, touching the Martial Affairs, I ſhall need to ſay little, in regard that the War which finiſhed the Con-

Conqueſt of *Ireland*, was ended almoſt in the Inſtant, when the Crown deſcended upon his Majeſty; and ſo there remained no Occaſion to amend the former Errors committed in the Proſecution of the War. Howbeit, ſince his Majeſty hath ſtill maintained an Army here, as well *For a Seminary of Martial Men*; as to *Give Strength and Countenance to the Civil Magiſtrate*; I may juſtly obſerve, that this Army hath not been fed with *Coigne* and *Livery*, or *Seſs* (with which Extortions the Soldier hath been nouriſh'd in the times of former Princes) but hath *been as Juſtly and Royally paid, as ever Prince in the World did pay his Men of War.* Beſides, when there did ariſe an Occaſion of Employment for his Army againſt the Rebel O *doghertie*; neither did His Majeſty delay the re-inforcing thereof, but inſtantly ſent Supplies out of *England* and *Scotland*; neither did the martial Men dally or proſecute the Service faintly, but *did forthwith quench that Fire, whereby themſelves would have been the warmer*, the longer it had continued, as well by the Encreaſe of their Entertainment, as by Booties and Spoil of the Country. And thus much I thought fit to note, touching the Amendment of the Errors in the Martial Affairs.

Secondly, For the Supply of the Defects in the Civil Government, theſe Courſes have been purſued ſince his Majeſty's proſperous Reign began.

Firſt, albeit upon the end of the War, whereby *Tyrone*'s univerſal Rebellion was ſuppreſs'd, the Minds of the People were broken and prepared to Obedience of the Law; yet the State, upon good Reaſon, did conceive, that the publick Peace could not be ſettled, till the Hearts of the People were alſo quieted, by ſecuring them from the Danger of the Law, which the moſt part of them had incurred one Way or other, in that great and general Confuſion.

Therefore, firſt by a general Act of State, called the *Act of Oblivion*, publiſhed by *Proclamation* under the Great-Seal, All Offences againſt the Crown, and all particular Treſpaſſes between Subject and Subject, done at

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any Time before His Majeſty's Reign, were (to all ſuch as would come in to the Juſtices of Aſſize by a certain Day, and claim the Benefit of this Act) pardoned, remitted, and utterly extinguiſhed, never to be revived or called in queſtion. And by the ſame Proclamation, all the *Iriſhry* (who for the moſt part, in former times, were left under Tyranny of their Lords and Chieftains, and had no Defence or Juſtice from the Crown) were received into His Majeſty's *immediate Protection*. This bred ſuch Comfort and Security in the Hearts of all Men, as thereupon enſued the calmeſt and moſt univerſal Peace, that ever was ſeen in *Ireland*.

The publick Peace being thus eſtabliſhed, the State proceeded next to eſtabliſh the publick Juſtice in every part of the Realm. And to that end, Sir *George Carey* (who was a prudent Governor, and a juſt, and made a fair Entry into the right way of Reforming this Kingdom) did in the firſt Year of His Majeſty's Reign, make the firſt Sheriffs that ever were made in *Tyrone* and *Tyrconnel*; and ſhortly after ſent Sir *Edmund Pelham* Chief Baron, and my ſelf thither, the firſt Juſtices of Aſſize that ever ſat in thoſe Countries: and in that Circuit, we viſited all the Shires of that Province beſides; which Viſitation, though it were ſomewhat diſtaſteful to the *Iriſh* Lords, was ſweet and moſt welcome to the common People; who, albeit they were rude and barbarous, yet they quickly apprehended the difference between the Tyranny and Oppreſſion under which they lived before, and the juſt Government and Protection which we promiſed unto them for the time to come.

The Law having made her Progreſs into *Ulſter* with ſo good Succeſs, Sir *Arthur Chichester* (who with ſingular Induſtry, Wiſdom, and Courage, hath now for the ſpace of Seven Years and more, proſecured the great Work of Reformation, and brought it well-near to an abſolute Perfection) did in the firſt Year of his Government, eſtabliſh two other new Circuits for Juſtices of Aſſize; the one in *Conaught* and the other in *Munſter*. I

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call them new Circuits, for that, although it be manifeſt by many Records, that *Juſtices itinerant* have in former times been ſent into all the Shires of *Munſter*, and ſome part of *Conaught*; yet certain it is, that in two hundred Years before (I ſpeak much within compaſs) no ſuch Commiſſion had been executed in either of theſe two Provinces. But now, the whole Realm being divided into Shires, and every bordering Territory, whereof any doubt was made in what County the ſame ſhould lie, being added or reduced to a County certain (among the reſt, the *Mountains* and *Glyns* on the *South* ſide of *Dublin*, were lately made a Shire by it ſelf, and called the County of *Wicklow*; whereby the Inhabitants, which were wont to be Thorns in the ſide of the *Pale*, are become civil and quiet Neighbours thereof,) the Streams of the publick Juſtice were derived into every part of the Kingdom; and the Benefit and Protection of the Law of *England* communicated to all, as well *Iriſh* as *Engliſh*, without Diſtinction or Reſpect of Perſons; by reaſon whereof, the Work of deriving the publick Juſtice grew ſo great, as that there was *Magna meſſis, ſed Operarii pauci.* And therefore the Number of the Judges in every Bench was increaſed, which do now every half Year (like good *Planets* in their ſeveral *Spheres* or *Circles*) carry the Light and Influence of Juſtice, round about the Kingdom; whereas the Circuits in former times went round about the *Pale*, like the Circuit of the *Cinoſura* about the *Pole*.

Quæ curſu interiore brevi convertitur orbe.

Upon theſe Viſitations of Juſtice, whereby the juſt and honourable Law of *England* was imparted and communicated to all the *Iriſhry*, there followed theſe excellent good Effects.

Firſt, the common People were taught by the Juſtices of Aſſize, that they were free Subjects to the Kings of *England*, and not Slaves and Vaſſals to their pretended Lords: That the *Cuttings*, *Coſheries*, *Seſſings*, and other Extortions

Extortions of the Lords, were unlawful, and that they ſhould not any more ſubmit themſelves thereunto, ſince they were now under the Protection of ſo juſt and mighty a Prince, as both would and could protect them from all Wrongs and Oppreſſions: They gave a willing Ear unto theſe Leſſons; and thereupon, the Greatneſs and Power of theſe *Iriſh Lords* over the People, ſuddenly fell and vaniſhed, when their Oppreſſions and Extortions were taken away, which did maintain their Greatneſs: Inſomuch, as divers of them, who formerly made themſelves Owners of all (by Force) were now by the Law reduced to this Point; That wanting Means to defray their ordinary Charges, they reſorted ordinarily to the Lord Deputy, and made Petition, that by Licence and Warrant of the State, they might take ſome Aid and Contribution from their People; as well to diſcharge their former Debts, as for competent Maintenance in Time to come: But ſome of them being impatient of this Dimunution, fled out of the Realm to foreign Countries. Whereupon, we may well obſerve, That, *As Extortion did baniſh the old Engliſh Freeholder, who could not live but under the Law; ſo the Law did baniſh the Iriſh Lord, who could not live but by Extortion.*

Again, theſe Circuits of Juſtice (did upon the End of the War) more terrify the looſe and idle Perſons, than the Execution of the Martial Law, though it were more quick and ſudden; and in a ſhort time after, did ſo clear the Kingdom of Thieves, and other capital Offenders, as I dare affirm, that for the ſpace of five Years laſt paſt, there have not been found ſo many Maleſactors worthy of Death in all the ſix Circuits of this Realm (which is now divided into Thirty-two Shires at large) as in one Circuit of ſix Shires; namely, the weſtern Circuit in *England*; for the truth is, that in time of Peace, the *Iriſh* are more fearful to offend the Law, than the *Engliſh*, or any other Nation whatſoever.

Again, whereas the greateſt Advantage that the *Iriſh* had of us in all their Rebellions, was, *Our Ignorance of their*

heir Countries, their Perſons, and their Actions: Since the aw and her Miniſters have had a Paſſage among them, ll their Places of Faſtneſs have been diſcovered and id open; all their Paſſes cleared; and Notice taken of very Perſon that is able to do either good or hurt. It known, not only how they live, and what they do, but is foreſeen what they purpoſe or intend to do: Inſo-uch, as *Tyrone* hath been heard to complain, that he ad ſo many Eyes watching over him, as he could not rink a full Carouſe of Sack, but the State was adverti-ed thereof, within few Hours after. And therefore, thoſe llowances which I find in the ancient Pipe-Rolls, *Pro uidagio & ſpiagio*, may be well ſpared at this Day. Under-heriffs and Bailiffs-errant, are better Guides and Spies in he time of Peace, than any were found in the Time of War.

Moreover, theſe civil Aſſemblies at Aſſizes and Seſſi-ons have reclaimed the *Iriſh* from their Wildneſs, cauſed hem to cut off their Glibs and long Hair; to convert heir Mantles into Cloaks; to conform themſelves to the manner of *England* in all their Behaviour, and outward Forms. And becauſe they find a great Inconvenience in moving their Suits by an Interpreter; they do for the moſt part ſend their Children to Schools, eſpecially to learn the *Engliſh* Language: So as we may conceive and hope, that the next Generation will in Tongue and Heart, and every way elſe, become *Engliſh*; ſo as there will be no Difference or Diſtinction, but the *Iriſh* Sea, betwixt us. And thus we ſee a good Converſion, and the *Iriſh Game turned again.*

For heretofore the Neglect of the Law made the *Engliſh* degenerate, and become *Iriſh*; and now, on the other ſide, the Execution of the Law doth make the *Iriſh* grow civil, and become *Engliſh.*

Laſtly, theſe general Seſſions now do teach the People more Obedience, and keep them more in Awe, than did the general Hoſtings in former times. Theſe Progreſ-ſes of the Law renew and confirm the Conqueſt of *Ire-land* every half Year, and ſupply the Defect of the King's

Abſence

Abſence in every part of the Realm; in that every Judge ſitting in the Seat of Juſtice, doth repreſent the Perſon of the King himſelf.

Theſe Effects hath the Eſtabliſhment of the publick Peace and Juſtice produced, ſince His Majeſty's happy Reign began.

Howbeit, it was impoſſible to make a Commonwealth in *Ireland* without performing another Service, which was the ſettling of all the Eſtates and Poſſeſſions, as well of *Iriſh* as *Engliſh*, throughout the Kingdom.

For, although that in the 12th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, a ſpecial Law was made which did enable the Lord Deputy to take Surrenders, and re-grant Eſtates to the *Iriſhry* (upon Signification of her Majeſty's Pleaſure in that behalf;) yet were there but few of the *Iriſh Lords* that made offer to ſurrender during her Reign; and they who made Surrenders of entire Countries, obtained Grants of the whole again to themſelves only; and to no other; and all in Demeaſne. In paſſing of which Grants, there was no Care taken of the inferior Septs of People, inhabiting and poſſeſſing theſe Countries under them, but they held their ſeveral Portions in Courſe of *Taniſtry* and *Gavelkind*, and yielded the ſame *Iriſh* Duties and Exactions, as they did before: So that upon every ſuch Surrender and Grant there was but one Freeholder made in a whole Country, which was the Lord himſelf; all the reſt were but Tenants at Will, or rather Tenants in Villenage, and were neither fit to be ſworn in Juries, nor to perform any publick Service: And by reaſon of the Uncertainty of their Eſtates, did utterly neglect to build, or to plant, or to improve the Land. And therefore, although the Lord was become the King's Tenant, his Country was no whit reformed thereby, but remained in the former Barbariſm and Deſolation.

Again, in the ſame Queen's Time, there were many *Iriſh Lords* who did not ſurrender, yet obtained Letters Patents of the Captainſhips of their Countries, and of all Lands and Duties belonging to thoſe Captainſhips: For the Statute which doth condemn and aboliſh thoſe

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Captainries uſurped by the *Iriſh*, doth give Power to the Lord Deputy to grant the ſame by Letters Patents. Howbeit, theſe *Iriſh* Captains, and likewiſe the *Engliſh*, who were made Seneſchals of the *Iriſh* Countries, did, by colour of theſe Grants, and under pretence of Government, claim an *Iriſh* Seigniory, and exerciſe plain Tyranny over the common People. And this was the Fruit that did ariſe of the Letters Patents granted of the *Iriſh* Countries in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, where before they did extort and oppreſs the People only by colour of a lewd and barbarous Cuſtom; they did afterwards uſe the ſame Extortions and Oppreſſions by Warrant under the great Seal of the Realm.

But now, ſince his Majeſty came to the Crown, two ſpecial Commiſſions have been ſent out of *England* for the ſettling and quieting of all the Poſſeſſions in *Ireland*; the one for accepting Surrenders of the *Iriſh* and degenerate *Engliſh*, and for re-granting Eſtates unto them, according to the Courſe of the common Law: The other for ſtrengthning of defective Titles: In the Execution of which Commiſſions, there hath ever been had a ſpecial Care, to ſettle and ſecure the Under-Tenants; to the end, there might be a Repoſe and Eſtabliſhment of every Subject's Eſtate; Lord and Tenant, Freeholder and Farmer, throughout the Kingdom.

Upon Surrenders, this Courſe hath been held from the beginning; when an *Iriſh Lord* doth offer to ſurrender his *Country*, his Surrender is not immediately accepted, but a Commiſſion is firſt awarded, to enquire of Three ſpecial Points. Firſt, of the Quantity and Limits of the Land whereof he is reputed Owner. Next, how much himſelf doth hold in demeaſne, and how much is poſſeſt by his Tenants and Followers. And Thirdly, what Cuſtoms, Duties, and Services, he doth yearly receive out of thoſe Lands. This Inquiſition being made and returned, the Lands which are found to be the Lord's proper Poſſeſſions in demeaſne, are drawn into a *Particular*; and his *Iriſh Duties*, as *Coſherings*, *Seſſings*, *Rents of Butter*, *and* Oat-meal, and the like, are reaſonably valued and

and reduced into certain *Sums of Money*, to be paid yearly in lieu thereof. This being done, the Surrender is accepted; and thereupon a Grant paſſed, not of the whole Country, as was uſed in former Times, but of thoſe Lands only, which are found in the Lord's Poſſeſſion, and of thoſe certain Sums of Money, as Rents iſſuing out of the reſt. But the Lands which are found to be poſſeſt by the Tenants, are left unto them, reſpectively charged with theſe certain Rents only, in lieu of all uncertain *Iriſh Exactions.*

In like manner, upon all *Grants*, which have paſt by virtue of the Commiſſion, for defective Titles, the Commiſſioners have taken ſpecial Caution, for Preſervation of the Eſtates of all particular Tenants.

And as for Grants of *Captain-ſhips, Seneſchal-ſhips*, in the *Iriſh Countries*; albeit, this Deputy had as much Power and Authority to grant the ſame, as any other Governors had before him; and might have raiſed as much Profit by beſtowing the ſame, if he had reſpected his private, more than the publick Good; yet hath he been ſo far from paſſing any ſuch in all his time, as he hath endeavour'd to reſume all the Grants of that kind, that have been made by his Predeceſſors; to the end, the inferior Subjects of the Realm ſhould make their only and immediate Dependency upon the Crown. And thus we ſee, how the greateſt part of the Poſſeſſions, (as well of the *Iriſh* as of the *Engliſh*) in *Leinſter*, *Conaught*, and *Munſter*, are ſettled and ſecured ſince his Majeſty came to the Crown; whereby the Hearts of the People are alſo ſettled, not only to live in Peace, but raiſed and encouraged to build, to plant, to give better Education to their Children, and to improve the Commodities of their Lands; whereby the yearly Value thereof is already increaſed double of that it was within theſe few Years, and is like daily to riſe higher, till it amount to the Price of our Land in *England*.

Laſtly, the Poſſeſſions of the *Iriſhry* in the Province of *Ulſter*, though it were the moſt rude and unreformed Part of *Ireland*, and the *Seat* and *Neſt* of the laſt great

Great Rebellion, are now better diſpoſed and eſtabliſhed than any the Lands in the other Provinces, which have been paſt and ſettled upon Surrenders. For, as the Occaſion of the diſpoſing of thoſe Lands, did not happen without the ſpecial Providence and Finger of God, which did caſt out thoſe wicked and ungrateful Traitors, who were the only Enemies of the Reformation of *Ireland*; ſo the Diſtribution and Plantation thereof hath been projected and proſecuted by the ſpecial Direction and Care of the King himſelf; wherein his Majeſty hath corrected the Errors before ſpoken of, committed by King *Henry* 2. and King *John*, in diſtributing and planting the firſt conquered Lands. For, although there were ſix whole Shires to be diſpoſed, His Majeſty gave not an entire Country, or County, to any particular Perſon; much leſs did grant *Jura Regalia*, or any extraordinary Liberties. For the beſt *Britiſh Undertaker* had but a proportion of 3000 Acres for himſelf, with power to create a Manor, and hold a Court-Baron: Albeit, many of theſe Undertakers were of as great Birth and Quality as the beſt Adventurers in the firſt Conqueſt. Again, his Majeſty did not utterly exclude the Natives out of this Plantation, with a purpoſe to root them out, as the *Iriſh* were excluded out of the firſt *Engliſh Colonies*; but made a mixt Plantation of *Britiſh* and *Iriſh*, that they might grow up together in one Nation: Only, the *Iriſh* were in ſome places tranſplanted from the Woods and Mountains, into the Plains and open Countries, that being removed (like wild Fruit-Trees) they might grow the milder, and bear the better and ſweeter Fruit. And this truly, is the Maſter-piece, and moſt excellent part of the Work of Reformation, and is worthy indeed of his Majeſty's Royal Pains. For when this Plantation hath taken Root, and been fix'd and ſettled but a few Years, with the Favour and Bleſſing of God (for the Son of God himſelf hath ſaid in the Goſpel, *Omnis plantatio, quam non plantavit pater meus, eradicatur*) it will ſecure the Peace of *Ireland*, aſſure it to the Crown of *England* for ever; and finally, make it a civil, and a rich, a mighty and a flouriſhing Kingdom.

I omit to ſpeak of the increaſe of the Revenue of the Crown, both certain and caſual, which is raiſed to a double proportion (at leaſt) above that it was, by deriving the publick Juſtice into all parts of the Realm, by ſettling all the Poſſeſſions, both of the *Iriſh* and *Engliſh*, by re-eſtabliſhing the Compoſitions; by reſtoring and reſuming the Cuſtoms; by reviving the Tenures in *Capite*, and *Knights-Service*; and reducing many other Things into Charge, which by the Confuſion and Negligence of former times became concealed and ſubtracted from the Crown. I forbear likewiſe to ſpeak of the due and ready bringing in of the Revenue, which is brought to paſs by the well ordering of the Court of *Exchequer*, and the Authority and Pains of the Commiſſioners for Accompts.

I might alſo add hereunto, the Encouragement that hath been given to the maritime Towns and Cities, as well to increaſe their Trade of Merchandize, as to cheriſh mechanical Arts and Sciences; in that all their Charters have been renewed, and their Liberties more inlarged by his Majeſty, than by any of his Progenitors ſince the Conqueſt. As likewiſe, the Care and Courſe that hath been taken, to make civil Commerce and Intercourſe between the Subjects newly reform'd and brought under Obedience, by granting Markets and Fairs to be holden in their Countries, and by erecting of corporate Towns among them.

Briefly, the Clock of the civil Government is now well ſet, and all the Wheels thereof do move in Order; the Strings of this *Iriſh* Harp, which the civil Magiſtrate doth finger, are all in tune (for I omit to ſpeak of the State Eccleſiaſtical) and make a good Harmony in this Commonweal: So as we may well conceive Hope, that *Ireland*, (which heretofore might properly be called the *Land of Ire*, becauſe the *Iraſcible* Power was predominant there for the ſpace of 400 Years together) will from hence forth prove a Land of *Peace and Concord*. And though heretofore it hath been like the lean Cow of *Egypt*, in *Pharaoh*'s Dream, devouring the fat of *England*, and yet remaining as lean as it was before, it will hereafter be as fruit-

ful as the Land of *Canaan*; the Deſcription whereof, in the 8th of *Deuteronomy*, doth in every part agree with *Ireland*; being *Terra rivorum, aquarumque & fontium; in cujus campis, & Montibus, erumpunt fluviorum abyſſi; terra frumenti & hordei; terra lactis & mellis, ubi abſque ulla penuria comedes panem tuum, & rerum abundantia perfrueris.*

And thus I have diſcover'd, and expreſs'd the Defects and Errors, as well *in the managing of the Martial Affairs*, as *of the Civil*; which in former Ages gave Impediment to the reducing of all *Ireland* to the *Obedience and Subjection* of the Crown of *England*. I have likewiſe obſerved what Courſes have been taken to *Reform the Defects and Errors in Government, and to reduce the People of this Land to Obedience*, ſince the beginning of the Reign of K. *Edw.* 3. till the latter end of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

And laſtly, I have declared and ſet forth, *How all the ſaid Errors have been corrected, and the Defects ſupplied under the proſperous Government of his Majeſty*; ſo as I may poſitively conclude in the ſame Words, which I have uſed in the Title of this Diſcourſe; *That until the Beginning of his Majeſty's Reign*, Ireland *was never entirely ſubdued, and brought under the Obedience of the Crown of* England. But ſince the Crown of this Kingdom, with the undoubted Right and Title thereof, deſcended upon his Majeſty; the whole Iſland from Sea to Sea, hath been brought into his Highneſs peaceable Poſſeſſion; and all the Inhabitants, in every Corner thereof, have been abſolutely reduced under his immediate Subjection. In which condition of Subjects, they will gladly continue, without Defection, or adhering to any other *Lord* or *King*, as long as they may be *Protected*, and *juſtly Governed*, without *Oppreſſion* on the one ſide, or *Impunity* on the other. For there is no Nation of People under the Sun that doth love equal and indifferent Juſtice better than the *Iriſh*; or will reſt better ſatisfied with the Execution thereof, although it be againſt themſelves; ſo as they may have the Protection and Benefit of the Law, when upon juſt Cauſe they do deſire it. *FINIS.*

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